

PORTRAITS
OF
ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

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PORTRAITS
OF
Illustrious Personages
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.
ENGRAVED FROM
AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF
HIS MAJESTY,
THE NOBILITY, AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS.
WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,
BY
EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

Nos. XIX. to XXIV.

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IN composing, several years since, a small sketch of the life of this admirable person, which has been published in another biographical collection, I summed up his character as it appeared to me, in terms which it may be pardonable to repeat here; for a second and more exact review of his conduct has furnished no ground for change of opinion, and to alter the diction of a few simple passages which the same pen could perhaps scarcely otherwise express, would produce but a silly counterfeit of originality. I shall perhaps take a similar liberty in a few subsequent instances, in the progress of the present work, and beg leave, once for all, to offer this apology for the practice, as well as for having said here so much on the subject.

To say that Sir Thomas More's was the brightest character of the age in which he lived, an age which exhibited the ferocity of uncivilised man without his simplicity, and the degeneracy of modern manners without their refinement, were praise beneath his merit; to challenge the long and splendid series of English biography to produce his equal at any period, might be deemed presumptuous: but, if the wise and honest statesman, the acute and incorrupt magistrate, the loyal but independent subject, constitute an excellent public man; if the good father, the good husband, and the good master, the firm friend, the moral though witty companion, the upright neighbour, the pious christian, and the patient martyr, form a perfect private character, ecce homo.

He was born in Milk street, Cheapside, about the year 1480, the only son of Sir John More, a Judge of the King's Bench, by his wife, the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire. He acquired the learned languages at the hospital

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of St. Anthony, in the parish of St. Benet Fink, in London, then a school of high reputation, from whence he was removed to St. Mary Hall, or, as some have said, to Canterbury College, now Christchurch, in the University of Oxford. The primate, Cardinal Morton, in whose family he passed some of his earliest years, in the character of a gentleman attendant, according to the fashion of that time, charmed as much by his wit as by his learning, often said to the great persons at his table, "this child here waiting, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous great man;" and the prediction soon began to be verified, for, even at the age of eighteen, the literary fame which he had acquired provoked the envy of some German critics, and the praise of others. Erasmus, at that time, wrote to him in the behalf of Brixius, one of the former class, who had attacked him in an invective intituled "Antimorus," seriously intreating his mercy to that old and experienced disputant.

Just at this period he left the university, and began to study the law in New Inn, and afterwards in Lincoln's Inn, passing his hours of leisure in a circle, of which he naturally became the centre, composed of those whose wisdom and learning could best inform, and of those the vivacity of whose genius could most delight. At the age of twenty-one, when he had barely been called to the station of an utter barrister, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, and was presently distinguished there for a freedom of conduct which, at that time, could have arisen only from the purest motives. In that spirit he opposed in 1503 the requisition of a subsidy and three-fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to the King of Scots, with such force and honesty of reasoning, that the rejection of the demand is said to have been ascribed almost wholly to his endeavours. A privy counsellor ran immediately from the house, and told the King that "a beardless boy had overthrown all his purpose," and Henry satisfied at once his anger and his avarice by committing, under some

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frivolous pretences, the young senator's father to the Tower, and forcing him to purchase his release by the payment of a fine of one hundred pounds. More, however, became so alarmed at the King's resentment that he retired for a considerable time from the parliament, and from his professional avocations, and during that interval, which seems to have been passed in a place of concealment, he studied geometry, astronomy, and music, in which last he much delighted, and exercised his pen in historical composition.

He returned at length to his practice at the bar, which presently became so extensive as to produce, according to his own report to his son-in-law, and biographer, Mr. Roper, an annual income of four hundred pounds, equal at least to five thousand in our days. He remained however in disfavour at court till after the accession of Henry the eighth, who, with all his faults, easily discovered, and generally encouraged, true merit. The King sent for him by Wolsey, and, on the first taste of his extraordinary powers, determined to employ him. Foreign negotiation was then held to be the most essential part of the education of a statesman. More was directed therefore in 1516 to accompany Tonsal, Bishop of Durham, one of his intimate friends, to Flanders, for the renewal of a treaty of alliance with the Archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles the fifth, and on his return was warmly invited by Henry to devote himself to the service of the Crown, which his prudence, and indeed his interests, induced him at that time, and for some years after, to decline. The King at length pressed him with such earnestness that he durst no longer refuse, and in 1519 he accepted the office of a Master of the Requests; was soon after knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council; and in the succeeding year appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer. More's hesitation had been wholly unaffected. On the occasion of his becoming a Privy Counsellor, he expressed himself (according to Stapleton, one of his biographers,) to his bosom friend, Bishop Fisher, in these terms; and the passage is rendered the more valuable by the features which it discloses, on

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such good authority, of Henry's character at that time. "I am come to the court extremely against my will, as every body knows, and as the King himself often twitteth me in sport for it; and hereto do I hang so unseemly, as a man not using to ride doth sit unhandsomely in his saddle. But our Prince, whose special and extraordinary favour towards me I know not how I shall ever be able to deserve, is so affable and courteous to all men, that every one who has never so little hope of himself may find somewhat whereby he may imagine that he loveth him; even as the citizens' wives of London do, who imagine that our Lady's picture, near the Tower, doth smile upon them as they pray before it. But I am not so happy that I can perceive such fortunate signs of deserving his love, and of a more abject spirit than that I can persuade myself that I have it already: yet, such is the virtue and learning of the King, and his daily increasing industry in both, that by how much the more I see his Highness increase in both these kingly ornaments, by so much the less troublesome this courtier's life seemeth unto me."

In 1523 he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and in the following year, says Hakewel, of the House of Peers. In the former capacity he again distinguished himself by his firm opposition to a subsidy, and, personally, to Wolsey, who came to the house, in his usual splendor, to influence the decision by his presence. On a question having been previously debated whether they should receive him but with a few attendants, or with his whole train, More is reported to have said, "Masters, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately, ye wot well, laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues, for things uttered out of this house, it should not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the intent that if he find the like fault with us, then we may be the bolder, from ourselves, to lay the blame on those whom his Grace bringeth with him." The favour of Henry, whose natural generosity of spirit then perhaps remained

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unabated, was not impaired by this unusual freedom: More, in 1526 was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; in the following year was joined to Wolsey, and others, in an embassy to the Court of France; and in 1529 went with Tonsal to Cambray, to secure the payment of certain sums due to the King from Charles the fifth, his success in which business won him the highest approbation. He was now Henry's most esteemed servant, and most familiar companion, but he had found some reasons to alter his opinion of his master's character. Roper informs us that, about this time, Henry coming suddenly, as he frequently did, to dine with More at his house at Chelsea, and walking long after dinner in the garden, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck, Roper, after the King's departure, congratulated him on so distinguished a mark of royal kindness, observing that no one except Wolsey had ever before experienced such condescension. "I thank our Lord, son," replied More, "I find his Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I must tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go off."

Henry's mind was now wholly occupied by his long cherished project of the divorce. He had consulted and reasoned with More on that great subject, and had met with a firm opposition. So attached, however, was he to the man, or so anxious for the sanction of his coincidence, that he determined to gratify the one, or to bribe the other, by a grant of the first station under the crown. More was appointed on the twenty-fifth of October, 1530, to succeed the disgraced Cardinal in the office of High Chancellor, which had never before been held by a layman, and this was the first serious blow struck by Henry at the power of the priesthood. He entered on it with melancholy forebodings, which were too soon verified. With a Christian perfection, which, as has been well said, and by a dissenter too, was such as made him "not only an

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honour to any particular form of Christianity, but to the Christian name and cause in general ;” his zeal for the Romish church was equalled only by the benevolent spirit in which he exercised it. He had for some time beheld in silent horror the gradual approaches to the downfall of that church, and was now called to a situation in which he was compelled either to aid its enemies with his counsels, and to ratify their decisions by his official acts, or to incur the severest penalties by his refusal. He virtuously preferred the latter, and, having persevered to the end in denying any degree of countenance to the proposed divorce, on the sixteenth of May, 1533, he resigned the seal, determined that it should never be placed by his hand on the instrument by which that process was to be concluded.

The definitive sentence was pronounced and published on the twenty-third, and the coronation of Anne Boleyn, to whom the impatient Henry had been for some time united, at least by the forms of matrimony, was fixed for the thirty-first of the same month. More, doubtless by the King’s order, was pressed by several of the Bishops who were to officiate, to be present at the ceremony, for his reputation stood so high in the kingdom that even the slightest colour of approbation from him was esteemed important ; but he stedfastly refused, and boldly declared to those prelates his conviction of the illegality of the marriage. Henry now sought to move him by terror. In the ensuing parliament a bill of attainder against him was agitated in the House of Peers, for misprision of treason in the affair of that enthusiast, or impostor, who was called the Holy Maid of Kent, and he was more than once cited before the Privy Council on other charges, but the evidence on each proved too weak even for the terrible fashion of that reign. The act of supremacy, which appeared in 1534, at length fixed his fate. When the oath prescribed by it was tendered to him he declined to take it, and was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster, and, on a second refusal, a few days after, to the Tower of London.

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Endeavours were now again ineffectually used to win him by persuasion, while the kind and merciful Cranmer as vainly endeavoured to prevail on the King to dispense with the oath in More's case. After fifteen months' imprisonment, he was arraigned of high treason at the King's Bench bar, for denying the King's supremacy. Rich, the Solicitor-General, afterwards Chancellor, was the sole witness against him, and the testimony of that wretch, whose name should be consigned to eternal infamy, consisted in the repetition of speeches which he had artfully drawn from More, during a visit to his prison, in a familiar conversation, which Rich had commenced by expressly declaring that he had no commission to agitate in it any matter regarding the prosecution. Much even of this evidence Sir Thomas positively denied, but the jury found him guilty, and he was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; a doom which Henry altered, in consideration of the high office which he had held. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill on the fifth of July, 1535, and his revered head was ignominiously exposed on London Bridge, from whence, after many days, it was privately obtained by his affectionate daughter, Roper, and by her placed in the vault of her husband's family, under a chapel adjoining to St. Dunstan's church in Canterbury. His body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but afterwards removed, at the solicitation of that lady, to the parish church of Chelsea, and buried there, in the chancel, near a monument which he had some years before erected, with an inscription written by himself.

Perhaps of all the remarkable persons who adorned or disgraced the age in which he lived we are the most clearly acquainted with the life and character of Sir Thomas More; and this, though few men have found more biographers, for his life has been ten times separately written and published, we owe chiefly to the perfect candour and sincerity which distinguished him. His acts and his sayings composed the history not only of his conduct but of his motives, and left to those who have written of him only the

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simple task of collecting facts, to which the fondest partiality could add no further grace, and on which even malice could have cast no blemish. But he lived without enemies, and, since his death, Bishop Burnet only has dared to lift a pen against his memory. In his earnest devotion to the Catholic faith, and to the See of Rome, he was severe only to himself. The fury of conflicting zealots was calmed while they reflected on his virtues, and when Rome celebrated his canonization with a just and honest triumph, the church of England looked on in silent approbation. In his court no one ever presided with more wisdom, learning, and perspicacity; with a more rigid devotion to justice; or with more vigilance, impartiality, and patience: when he quitted it, he left not a single cause undecided. The strictness of his loyalty, and his magnanimous independence, were always in perfect unison, because they flowed from one and the same source, an honest heart. In all the domestic relations the beauty of his life was unparalleled. Erasmus has left us a glowing picture of him, retired, at Chelsea, in the bosom of his family. The passage has been thus translated. "More hath built near London, upon the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough. There he converseth affably with his family; his wife, his son, and daughter in law; his three daughters, and their husbands; with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so affectionate with his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as well as if she were a young maid; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he loveth it as though nothing could have happened more happily. You would say there were in that place Plato's academy; but I do the house injury in comparing it to Plato's academy, where there was only disputations of numbers, and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a school or university of christian religion, for there is none therein but readeth or studieth the liberal

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sciences: their special care is piety and virtue: there is no quarrelling, or intemperate words, heard; none seen idle; which household discipline that worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud and haughty words, but with all kind and courteous favour. Every body performeth his duty, yet there is always alacrity; neither is sober mirth anything wanting."

More himself has proved the correctness of Erasmus's account in the dedication, to an intimate friend, of his *Utopia*, by expressions which I cannot help inserting here, for it is not easy to quit the story of his private life—"Whilst I daily plead other men's causes," says he (to use the words of his translator) "or hear them, sometimes as an arbitrator, other while as a judge: whilst this man I visit for friendship, another for business, and whilst I am employed abroad about other men's matters all the whole day, I leave no time for myself, that is for study: for when I come home I must discourse with my wife; chat with my children; speak with my servants; and, seeing this must needs be done, I number it amongst my affairs, and needful they are, unless one would be a stranger in his own house: for we must endeavour to be affable and pleasing to whom either nature, chance, or, choice, hath made our companions; but with such measure it must be done that we don't mar them with affability, or make them of servants our masters, by too much gentle entreaty and favour. Whilst these things are doing, a day, a month, a year, passeth. When then can I find any time to write? for I have not yet spoken of the time that is spent in eating and sleeping, which things alone bereave most men of half their life. As for me, I get only that spare time which I steal from my meat and sleep; which, because it is but small, I proceed slowly; yet, it being somewhat, I have now at length prevailed so much, as I have finished, and sent unto you, my *Utopia*."

The chief singularity of his character was a continual disposition to excessive mirth, and the Lord High Chancellor of England

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was perhaps the first droll in the kingdom. Lord Herbert, willing, for obvious reasons, to find fault with him, and unable to discover any other ground, censures the levity of his wit; and Mr. Addison well observes that "what was philosophy in him would have been phrenzy in any one who did not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners." Feeling that gaiety was the result of innocence, he seems to have conceived that the active indulgence of it was a moral duty. Among other hints of this remarkable opinion which are scattered in his works, speaking of the Utopian burials, at which he tells us none grieved, he says "when those to whom the deceased was most dear be come home, they rehearse his virtuous manners, and his good deeds, but no part is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death." That his own was such is well known. He had not been shaved during his long imprisonment, and after he had placed his neck on the block, he raised his hand, and put his beard forward, saying that it should not be cut off, for it had committed no treason. His witticisms are to be still found in abundance even in every ordinary jest book, and none have been better authenticated.

That Sir Thomas More should have found leisure for most extensive and various exercise of his pen is truly astonishing. In his youth he composed some pieces in English verse, which do him little credit, and would, had they not been his, have been long since forgotten. They are intituled, "A merry jest, how a serjeant would learn to play a frier."—"A rueful lamentation on the death of Elizabeth, wife of Henry the seventh."—"Certain metres for the Book of Fortune."—Ballads called "Lewys, the lost Lover," and "Davy, the dicer,"—and nine sets of lines, explanatory of as many devices painted on certain hangings in his father's house. The first and last of these are supposed to have been his earliest productions. His prose works, in English, are a treatise on the text "*Memorare Novissima, et in æternum non peccabis.*"—A Dialogue, treating of the worship of Images

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and Reliques, praying to Saints, and Pilgrimages, and “touching the pestilent sects of Luther and Tyndale.”—“The Supplication of Souls,” written against Simon Fishe’s popular tract named “The Supplication of Beggars.”—“A Confutation of Tyndale,” in nine books.—“An Apology,” in answer to a book intituled “a Treatise of the division between the Spirituality and Temporality.”—“The Debellation of Salem and Bizance,” written in reply to an answer to that Apology.—“An Answer to the first part of the poisoned book which a nameless Heretic” (John Frith) “hath named ‘the Supper of the Lord.’”—“A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation.”—“A Treatise to receive the blessed body of Christ, sacramentally and virtually both.”—The life of Picus, Earl of Mirandola, translated from the Latin; and several letters, among which are many to his family, beautifully illustrative of his character. All these were collected, and published in 1557, in one very bulky volume, by his sister’s son, William Rastall, the eminent lawyer, together with an English translation of the Utopia.

His Latin works are the Lives of Edward the fifth, and Richard the third, unfinished, which may be found translated, and completed, by Bishop Kennet, in the best general collection extant of English history. The celebrated Utopia, of which twelve editions have been published in its original form, eleven in English, two in French, and one in Italian; and several smaller works, most of which were printed together at Louvain, in 1566, namely, “*Expositio Passionis Domini.*”—“*Precationes ex Psalmis.*”—“*Quod pro fide mors fugienda non est.*”—“*Responsis ad convitia Martini Lutheri.*”—“*Imploratio divini auxilii contra tentationem, cum insultatione contra Dæmones, ex spe et fiducia in Deum.*”—“*Epigrammata,*”—“*Progymnasmata,*”—“*Epistolæ,*”—and “*Epistola ad Academiam Oxon.*” He also translated the Dialogues of Lucian into Latin, and wrote annotations on the works of that author.

Sir Thomas More, when about the age of twenty-four, married

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Jane, daughter of John Colte, of Candish, in Suffolk, and of Newhall, in Essex; by whom he had an only son, John; and three daughters, Margaret, wife of William Roper, of Eltham, in Kent, uncle to the first Lord Teynham; Elizabeth, of John, son and heir of Sir John Dauntsey; and Cicely, of Giles Heron, of Shacklewell, in Middlesex. Their brother, who has been idly said to have possessed scarcely common understanding, married an heiress of the family of Cressacre, of Barnborough, in Yorkshire, and so acquired estates there, which descended in the male line till the year 1795, when they fell by marriage to a family of Metcalfe, the heir male of which assumed, with an honest pride, the surname of his great ancestor. Sir Thomas married, secondly, Alice Middleton, a widow, the "old wife" mentioned by Erasmus, in a passage lately cited, and we are told by others that she was ugly, ill-tempered, and vulgar: by her he had no issue.

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

THIS Monarch, and surely to no one who ever swayed a sceptre was that title, in its strictest sense, more justly due, was born on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491. He had at once the education of a Prince and a Prelate, and indeed it has been said that his frugal father had intended to place him at the head of the English church: the premature death however of his elder brother, Arthur, invested him with the inheritance to the throne, which he mounted, upon the death of Henry the seventh, on the twenty-second of April, 1509. His accession was marked by the most auspicious circumstances: his kingdom was in a state of perfect tranquillity at home, and in amity with all the nations of Europe, and the treasure left to him by his father was enormous: his youth, his fine person, the liveliness of his disposition, his love of splendor, and his devotion to manly and vigorous exercises, won the hearts of his subjects, and the union in himself of the two mighty Houses which had so long contended for the Crown had fixed unquestionably his right, and augmented his power to rule them. His reign began with a popular sacrifice, and Sir Richard Empson, and Edmund Dudley, who had been the chief ministers to his father's avarice, were led to the scaffold; meanwhile the question, big with such unforeseen and mighty consequences, of his marriage to Catherine of Arragon, widow of his brother Arthur, was agitated as a matter of state policy, and speedily settled, and they were espoused on the third of June, following his father's death.

It was unlikely that a Prince young, haughty, wealthy, and inexperienced, should allow his country long to enjoy the advantages of peace. Pope Julius the second, whose genius was alto-

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gether warlike and political, had been for some time engaged in a quarrel with France on the affairs of Italy which had divided the powers of the continent into two rancorous parties. He had made overtures to Henry, and the more effectually to gain his assistance, had offered not only to declare him head of the Italian league, but to transfer to him the title of "Rex Christianissimus," so highly cherished by the French Monarchs. Henry consented, and the more readily because Ferdinand, his Queen's father, had lately adopted the same course. It was agreed that he should invade France from the Spanish frontier, which he did, with ten thousand men, to little purpose, while his naval force engaged with better success in the English channel. In the mean time Ferdinand affected to perform his part by marching an army into Navarre, a neutral country, with the secret view, which he accomplished, of annexing the most of it to his own dominions, and leaving the rest to be taken possession of by the French, and virtually abandoned the league. Henry however continued to prosecute his part of the war with vigour; renewed with Leo the tenth the engagements which he had made with Julius, lately deceased; induced the Emperor, by the payment of a large subsidy, to declare against France; and in the summer of 1513 passed over into that country in person, at the head of a powerful army, to make a campaign of three months, more distinguished by its romantic splendor and gallantry than by any important military exploits. It was during this his short absence that the war with Scotland, in which its King, James the fourth, paid with his life the forfeit for his attachment to France, began and ended; and Henry received the trophies of the victory of Flodden Field while he was besieging Tournay, which surrendered to him on the following day. A few months however produced a peace with France. Henry, enraged by new duplicities on the part of his father-in-law, and also of the Emperor Maximilian, not only signed suddenly a treaty of alliance with Louis, but gave his beautiful sister Mary in marriage to that Prince, who was nearly

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forty years older than herself, and who survived the nuptials scarcely three months.

It was at this period that the King's favour to that extraordinary person Thomas Wolsey became evident. He was now Dean of Lincoln, in which station Henry had found him when he succeeded to the Crown, and so necessary had his presence become to his master, that when the army was equipped for the late voyage to France, the care of victualling it was ridiculously committed to him, as a pretext for his personal attendance. He was seen soon after the King's return the sole director of his policy, and the chief partner in his pleasures. He was invested, as it were at once, with the richest and most powerful ecclesiastical dignities of the realm; was appointed High Chancellor; and at length created a Cardinal. Francis the first, who had succeeded to the throne of France, and the Emperor Charles the fifth, the two most powerful Princes of Europe, conscious of his influence over Henry, courted him with adulation even servile. In their contest for the friendship of our Monarch, Charles, who was the better politician, prevailed. Francis had paid Henry the compliment of soliciting that interview with him which passed on the French coast in 1520 with such chivalrous magnificence, but Charles had visited him in his own dominions immediately before his departure to it; won his heart with schemes of grandeur; and, which was probably more effectual, presented Wolsey with the revenues of two rich bishoprics in Spain, and promised his interest in raising him to the Popedom, to which he already aspired. A war ensued between these Princes in the succeeding year, and a treaty, in which Henry assumed ineffectually the character of mediator, and his interference ended in an offensive alliance between himself, the Emperor, and the Pope, against Francis. This negotiation, by which he engaged to invade France in the following summer with forty thousand men, was concluded at Bruges by Wolsey.

Soon after the King's return, Edward Stafford, Duke of

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Buckingham, the most powerful subject in the realm, was put to death for having alluded to some remote possibility that he might succeed to the Crown. This has usually been ascribed to the resentment of Wolsey, who had a private quarrel with him, but perhaps ought more properly to be considered as the commencing article in the long catalogue of Henry's rapacities and cruelties. Little remained of the great wealth left by his father, and the attainder of Buckingham furnished a rich prize to an almost exhausted treasury. It was indeed about this period that Henry's character began to assume that deformity the records of which have tended to cast doubts on the truth of history. Unemployed for a short interval of peace, and burning for distinction where-soever it might possibly be found, he burst forth suddenly the polemic champion of that Church which he soon after found it convenient to demolish; attacked Luther, and the new doctrines, with all the weapons of school divinity, in which he was well versed; and presented his book to the Pope, who rewarded his apparent zeal by conferring on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." He now received a second visit from the Emperor, and renewed with him the treaty of the preceding year; the promised invasion of France followed, and passed over in comparatively insignificant depredations near the coast in Britany and Normandy. A war with Scotland, of the same inferior character, succeeded, and was prosecuted with indifferent success for more than a year. Henry's object in all his intercourse with that country, either as a friend or an enemy, was to detach it from its alliance with France, but his policy was not sufficiently refined to deceive that deep-sighted people in negotiation, and his purse was too weak to furnish the means of decisive warfare. It was now that he began to raise money by forced loans, and by what were called benevolences; became perplexed and irritated by their tedious operation; summoned a Parliament and convocation, and, finding them unwilling to grant him the supplies which he required, awed them into compliance by threatening to cut off

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the heads of those among them who most steadily opposed themselves to his will.

France, however seriously menaced, had hitherto suffered little from the efforts of her powerful enemies, when the rashness of her monarch plunged his affairs suddenly into the deepest calamity. He had determined to attempt the conquest of the Milanese; invaded Italy; and, having laid siege to Pavia, was unexpectedly attacked by the Imperialists; his army completely routed under the walls of that city, and himself taken prisoner. Henry, whose conduct in his league with Charles, and in the management of his own share of the war, had already displayed little policy, now took a step which astonished Europe. Incited by some personal slights which he had of late received from the Emperor, as well as by a jealousy of his overweening power, and perhaps yet more by a capricious generosity, he formed a treaty with the French Regent, and engaged to procure Francis his liberty. That Prince however soon after obtained it by an almost pardonable breach of his parole, and on the eighteenth of September, 1527, concluded at London an alliance with Henry, who took this occasion to renounce for ever all claim to the Crown of France.

While these matters passed, events not less important than surprising were silently approaching in England. The King had resolved to repudiate Catherine. On that great affair, certainly the most considerable in itself and in its consequences, and perhaps the best known and understood, in our modern history, it would be impertinent to dilate here. It may not be too bold to say, that all question on his real motives to this determination has long ceased. No one will now venture to urge on his behalf those scruples of conscience for which his earlier apologists gave him credit. Nay, we seek in vain for a single act in Henry's life which might authorize us even to suspect that he had a conscience. His incitements in this case were of the most simple and ordinary nature—an appetite too gross to be expressed in the terms which might properly denote it, and a policy

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too obvious to deserve the praise of sagacity—his inclination to the person of Anne Bullen, and his desire to become the father of an heir with unquestionable title to the crown. The Pope, Clement the seventh, naturally timid, and at that time a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor, who was nephew to Catherine, evaded all endeavours to induce him to dissolve the marriage by his own authority, but at length consented to grant a commission to Wolsey, and another cardinal chosen by himself, to try its validity. The King and Queen were cited to appear before them, and obeyed the summons. Henry of course acknowledged the authority of the court, but Catherine demurred, and, having justified herself on the spot in an unexpected address to the King, the prudent and pathetic features of which will always render it a classical ornament to our history, departed, and refused all future attendance. The Court however proceeded, though slowly, in the exercise of its functions, and the convocations of Canterbury and York decreed at length the invalidity of the marriage. Henry was in daily expectation of a definitive sentence, when the Pope suddenly adjourned the final consideration of the cause to Rome, where a favourable decision was hopeless.

The wrath excited in the King's mind by this disappointment was somewhat appeased by the sacrifice of Wolsey, whose favour had been for some time declining. Parties the most discordant joined in accelerating his fall. Catherine and her rival were equally his enemies. His favour at Rome had been impaired by his assiduity in promoting the divorce, and he had offended the English clergy by conniving at those partial spoliations of the church which formed a prelude to the reformation. He was detested by the nobility for usurping a magnificence which they could not reach. Above all, Henry had determined to renounce the authority of the Papal See, a resolution to the practice of which Wolsey's ecclesiastical and political existence could not but have been a constant impediment. He was prosecuted under an obsolete law, for the breach of which he had long since

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received a general indemnity, signed by the King; received an ample pardon; was again prosecuted on the same charges; and saved himself from the axe by dying of a broken heart. Henry now attacked the whole body of his clergy, under colour of the authority of the same statute, and they purchased their pardon by the payment of a great sum; proceeded to deprive the Church of Rome of an important part of the ancient revenue which it derived from England; and procured a vote of Parliament, ordaining that any censures which the Pope might issue against those acts should be utterly disregarded. In the mean time the Queen dispatched an appeal to Rome on the question of the divorce, and he received a citation to answer it, which he did very effectually by almost instantly marrying Anne Bullen. The evidence which had been given, and the decree uttered by the convocations two years before, were now deemed all-sufficient, and Cranmer, the Primate, with no other authority, by a formal sentence annulled the King's marriage with Catherine, and ratified his union with Anne. The Parliament however presently after confirmed that sentence, and by a special act settled the inheritance of the Crown on the issue of Anne. The same Parliament declared the King "the only supreme head of the Church of England."

Henry, to whom all modes of faith were indifferent, had not perhaps yet contemplated the establishment in England of the new persuasion. His objects were, first, to shake off the Papal authority, and then to render the wealth of the Church subservient to his occasional necessities. The reformation was but an incidental consequence of his efforts to those ends. At this period therefore, while he shed the blood of several persons, at the head of whom were the illustrious Moore and Fisher, for asserting the Pope's supremacy, he consigned many to the stake for denying the Catholic tenets. He had already suppressed a great number of the smaller religious houses, and his Parliament had possessed him of their revenues, and was proceeding to bolder confiscations,

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when his attention was for a moment diverted to a domestic concern. Anne's charms had ceased to please, and he had given way to a new sensual partiality. His unfortunate and beautiful Queen, to whose innocence posterity has implicitly subscribed, was put to death, with several other persons, among whom was her brother, and on the same day, or, as some say, on the third day after, he married Jane Seymour, the daughter of a private gentleman. A Parliament, not less subservient than that which had settled the crown on his issue by Anne, paid him on this occasion the compliment of bastardizing his daughters by his two former Queens, and decreeing the inheritance to the fruit of this new marriage.

As the breach with the Pope widened, the certainty of a total change in the national religion became daily more manifest. The convocation, in which, those of the two persuasions were nearly equally balanced, at length promulgated, with Henry's sanction, certain articles of faith, comprising a heterogeneous mixture of the doctrines of each party, some of which evidently pointed at the downfall of the regular priesthood. The people, moved not less by the actual interest which they had in the maintenance of that body than by their own pious feelings, rose in enormous masses, which for want of leaders were presently subdued; and Henry, in defiance, proceeded without delay to the suppression of the larger monasteries, and the assumption of their extensive revenues. Still however he hesitated on the unqualified rejection of the old religion. An unaccountable caprice prompted him to become the champion of transubstantiation. He was even absurd enough to debate that question publicly in Westminster Hall, in all the pomp of royalty, surrounded by the Peers spiritual and temporal, with an obscure individual, who was presently after committed to the flames for maintaining his opinion in that conference, and many others were about the same time burned also for denying the real presence. He found the system lately framed by the convocation utterly impracticable, and

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endeavoured to simplify and explain it by extorting from the Parliament that terrific act well known by the name of the Law of the Six Articles, in which the most favourite tenets of the Church of Rome were enforced by penalties of unheard of severity: at the same time he flattered the reformers by many concessions; particularly by an unqualified permission to use in their family worship the English version of the Scriptures, but this liberty was soon after confined to gentlemen and merchants. There was however no safety, amidst the various, and frequently contradictory regulations of this time, for those who professed either faith with undisguised zeal, and numbers of each were put to death, frequently with circumstances of wanton barbarity. New forms of doctrine and discipline were now contrived. A compendium of tenets was published under the title of "the Institution of a Christian Man," varying in many instances from those which had preceded them; and this again was shortly after followed by the publication of an improved scheme of orthodoxy, entitled "the Erudition of a Christian Man." These, particularly the latter, are believed to have been composed by Henry's own hand, and were certainly uttered under the express authority of the King and Parliament. Fortunately for the unhappy people who were doomed to submit to his rule, he became at length bewildered amidst the confusion which himself had created, and left the jarring elements of his reformation to be reconciled and arranged by the wiser heads, the more sincere hearts, and the cleaner hands of his successors. All activity in this great work now ceased but that of the accuser, the judge, and the executioner.

Jane Seymour had died in giving birth to a son, afterwards Edward the sixth, and Henry had been for two years a widower, when he resolved to seek a consort in the Protestant Courts of Germany. Cromwell, whom he had raised from the most abject obscurity, and whose busy and profitable agency in what may be called the financial branch of the reformation had made him a

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minister of state and a favourite, proposed to him Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. The connection was politically desirable, and a portrait of the Princess by Holbein had obtained the King's approbation. He espoused her, but on her arrival in England, finding her coarse, both in person and manners, conceived an unconquerable dislike to her, which he expressed to his confidants by calling her "a great Flanders mare." He completed the marriage however, and, for a while concealing from others his aversion, employed himself in devising the most convenient means by which he might dispose of her, when a new object of appetite cut short his deliberations. He became enamoured of Catherine Howard, a niece to the Duke of Norfolk, who might at this time be called his chief minister, and whose envy and hatred, concurring with the disgust which Cromwell had excited in Henry's mind by promoting his late unlucky marriage, wrought suddenly the downfall of that remarkable child of various fortunes. Cromwell was arrested by Norfolk at the Council Board, attainted of treason and heresy, and beheaded, without examination or trial; Anne was divorced without a single legal plea against her, or a tittle of evidence, and it was declared high treason to deny the dissolution of her marriage; and the perpetration of all these enormities by an English Parliament, together with the celebration of the nuptials of Henry with Catherine Howard, occupied but the space of six weeks, in the summer of the year 1540.

Catherine possessed youth, beauty, talents, and politeness, and the raptures with which Henry professed to cherish this new connection exceeded all ordinary bounds. Not contented with offering up a prayer in his own chapel in testimony of his gratitude for it, he commanded the Bishop of Lincoln to compose a regular form of public thanksgiving to the same effect. In the midst of these extravagancies, it was communicated to him by Cranmer that she had indulged, before her marriage, and perhaps after, in the most profligate libertinism, and had even chosen her

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paramours from among the servants of her grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk. He is said to have wept when he received the intelligence. The Queen, and the parties with whom she had offended, were proceeded against by attainder, and put to death. Two remarkable acts of Parliament were now passed; the one constituting it high treason to conceal in future any knowledge, or even strong suspicion, of similar guilt in a Queen Consort; and the other, as though to reach the climax of absurd tyranny, enacting that any woman whom the King might propose to marry, having previously forfeited her honour, should also be subjected to the penalties of high treason if she did not disclose her guilt to him previously to her nuptials.

It was fortunate for Henry, amidst the difficulties, public and domestic, into which for the last ten years he had plunged himself and his people, that it should have suited the interests of neighbouring States to remain at peace with him. The Emperor, as a man his bitter enemy, was restrained by high political motives from attacking him. Francis, on the other hand, was his friend, as well from inclination as policy. Scotland had been too much distracted by factions during the long minority of his nephew, James the fifth, to become an aggressor. Henry himself at length interrupted this apparent concord. Excited by a jealousy not unreasonable of the intimate union which existed between the two latter princes, and by private resentment, not only because Francis had given in marriage to James a Princess whom he intended to have demanded for himself, but on the score of a personal slight which he had received from the King of Scots, he seized the first moment of leisure to break with both. He invaded Scotland with a powerful army, and was at first repulsed; when James, flushed by the deceitful advantage, determined, against the sense of his nobility and commanders, to pursue his invaders into their own country; was utterly routed at Solway Forth; and died, as is said, of grief, on the fourteenth of December, 1542, exactly three weeks after his defeat. With

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him this short war also expired; a treaty was concluded, the principal feature of which was a stipulation for the marriage of his infant daughter, afterwards the celebrated Mary, to the young Prince of Wales, which it is almost needless to say was never fulfilled.

The articles concluded on however, especially the latter, were beheld by the Scots with disgust and dread. They saw their country falling gradually under the domination of Henry, and appealed to the old friendship of Francis, who readily engaged to assist them, in the very probable event of a renewal of warfare with England, with troops and money. This negotiation soon became known to Henry, and he lost no time in resenting it. He suddenly established a league with the Emperor, and they agreed to furnish an army, each of twenty-five thousand men, for the invasion of France, chiefly under the pretence of chastising its King for having formed an alliance with the Grand Signor. Henry now assembled his Parliament, which not only granted him ample supplies for the prosecution of this new war, but went even further than any of its compliant predecessors towards surrendering into his hands the whole legislative authority. It expressly recognized and strengthened a former law by which the King's proclamations were declared equivalent to statutes, and constituted a tribunal for facilitating the operation of such manifestations of the royal will, and for punishing those who might disobey them. The year in which he received this monstrous concession, 1543, was further rendered somewhat remarkable by an event of smaller importance; his marriage with Catherine Par, the widow already of two husbands.

The high sounding confederacy between Henry and the most powerful Prince in Europe produced no important results. Their first campaign, in which no very active part fell to the English, ended with little actual advantage to either party, and with increased credit to the military reputation of France; and the second was more distinguished by a peace, in the treaty for which

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Henry was not even named, suddenly concluded between the Emperor and Francis, than by any notable exploit in the field. It had been in fact a war of sieges, and Henry's reduction of Boulogne, which surrendered to him in person, may perhaps be considered as its most important feature. He returned, full of chagrin, to the consolation of yet further augmented power. A new Parliament, which met in the first of the two years of the war, had, in submission to his dictates, recognized the right of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to their proper places in the line of succession to the throne ; impowered him however to exclude them, should they incur his displeasure ; left unrepealed the act by which they had formerly been declared illegitimate ; and, finally, invested him expressly with the right, should he chance to be left childless, to give the Crown, by his will, or by letters patent, to whomsoever he might think fit. Not content with enacting these fearful absurdities, this Parliament not only absolved him of his obligation to repay a late loan, but actually ordained that such of the lenders as had already been reimbursed should refund into the exchequer the several sums which they had respectively received.

Before Henry passed over into France, he renewed the war with Scotland. A powerful army, which had been transported by sea to Leith, marched to Edinburgh, which they plundered, and mostly burned, and, having horribly ravaged the country to the east of that city, returned almost without loss. Another inroad, made in the autumn of the same year, 1544, was less successful. The English were 'chased within their own borders, leaving behind them many slain, and more prisoners ; were reinforced, and became again in their turn the assailants. At length, after a year had passed in that barbarous predatory warfare which distinguished the border contests, a treaty of peace was signed with the King of France, in which Scotland, at the instance of that Prince, was included. Henry, thus disengaged, once more recurred to ecclesiastical speculations. Some remnants of Church

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property yet remained untouched. The same Parliament from which he had of late received such surprising proofs of a blind and senseless devotion, now possessed him of the revenues of the chantries, hospitals, and free chapels, and even of those of the universities. The latter he graciously declined to accept, and hence only, with the exception of his foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, acquired the reputation of an encourager of learning, and a patron of science. So accustomed had the nation become to the expectation of his arbitrary invasions of property, and of its own practice of an implicit submission to them, that it hailed this forbearance as an emanation of the highest generosity, and acknowledged it by the most absurd and misplaced flattery.

In his renewed labours to establish an uniformity of faith, or at least worship, he was still perplexed by doubts and difficulties. The Prelates, Cranmer and Gardiner, the one a zealous protestant, and a man of pure simplicity, the other, the very crafty but determined advocate for the old religion, were alternately his advisers, and his endeavours to select truth and justice from the contrariety of their counsels, were alike destitute of piety or wisdom. He sought to soothe the irritation which he suffered from these vexations and disappointments, and from a rapid abatement of health, by new acts of persecution. Several persons were brought to the stake for denying, or rather for doubting, his favourite doctrine of transubstantiation, and the Queen herself was saved by her own wit and sagacity from falling a victim to his suspicion that she wavered on that delicate point. But a most unexpected sacrifice of another sort closely impended. Henry had secretly determined to shed the blood of his faithful and long tried minister and general, the Duke of Norfolk, and of his admirably accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey. They were suddenly arrested, and, without a single proof of guilt, indeed almost without a single specific charge, arraigned of high treason, and condemned to die. It were charity to the memory of the

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tyrant to suppose, and it is somewhat strange that a conjecture seemingly so obvious should not before have occurred, that this last superlative enormity might be ascribed to the insanity which sometimes increases the horrors of approaching death. Be this as it may, Surrey was led to the scaffold, and presently after, Henry, having on that very day, the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, signed an order for the execution of the Duke on the morrow, himself expired.

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THE first attempt is now made to bring into one view the dispersed relics of this very eminent person's story. In searching for them, regret has been excited at every step by evident presumptions that innumerable circumstances of that story have been long lost in utter oblivion. In the life of a man of exalted rank, not less distinguished by the vigour of his talents than by his honesty and high spirit; continually in the service of the Crown, under four Monarchs the characters of whose minds and tempers, and the policy of whose governments, were dissimilar even to opposition; devoted with the most faithful and unbending resolution to a religion which he saw alternately cherished and proscribed by those Princes, professed and abjured by his compeers; what interesting facts must have occurred! what dangers must he not have encountered, what difficulties must he not have surmounted? Those curiosities, however, have been sacrificed to the dulness or the timidity of the historians of the seventeenth century, and little remains of him but an outline which it is now too late to endeavour to fill up.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of his family, was born in 1512, the only son of William, the ninth Earl, by Anne, second daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland of the Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded, on his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors, and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of domestic subordination which generally prevailed in that time, to the sports of the field, and the festivities, and warlike exercises of the Court. In the summer however of the following

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year, 1544, he attended Henry in his splendid voyage to Boulogne, and was appointed, on his arrival there, Field Marshal of the army then employed in the remarkable siege of that town, under the command of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The success of the enterprize was at least completed by his vigilance and courage. In the night of the eleventh of September, after the siege had been carried on for six weeks, he marched the squadron committed to his charge close under the walls, and there awaited the event of a furious discharge of cannon which played on them over his head. It proved fortunate: a breach was effected: and he, at the head of his troops, first entered the town, which two days after capitulated. The King rewarded this service by a grant of the Government of Calais, and of the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household. Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed, with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the Council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty, but in the same hour commanded Cecil, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him that, whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. Cecil observing to the King, to use the words of my author, "that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed; 'well,' said the King, 'do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice.' Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel shewed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should be written, and signed by his fellow commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, sending Cecil with the

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advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud—‘ what, will he do it, or no?’ Cecil replied that his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed: but then the King, half angry, urged—‘ nay, tell me, will he do it, or no?’ Being then told it was done, he turned to the Lords, and said ‘ now you will hear news, the fine treaty is broken;’ whereto one presently answered that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the King straitly replied that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged rather than one such servant as had done it, and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel’s pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent, with letters of thanks, and assurance of favour.” Henry, soon after his return, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and, in his last moments, which indeed were then approaching, distinguished him by naming him one of the guardians of the infant successor.

In the great conflict for power between Seymour and Dudley which agitated the following reign it was scarcely possible for any eminent person connected with the State or Court to remain neuter. The Earl of Arundel, who continued Lord Chamberlain, seems to have endeavoured to keep that course for a time, but at length joined the faction of Warwick, and when the first storm broke out against the Protector was appointed, partly from confidence, and in some measure in consideration of his high office in the household, one of the six Lords under whose care, or rather in whose custody, the King was placed, to frustrate any attempt by the other party to seize his person. It was not possible however that two such men should remain long united. The grand features of Warwick’s disposition were an ambition wholly unprincipled, and a violence of temper which broke through all the bounds of prudence; while Arundel, to use the words of Sir John Hayward, perhaps the only writer of credit who has left us any glimpse of the character of his mind, was “ in his nature circumspect and slow,” as well as of undoubted probity. Scarcely

three months had passed, when the Earl was suddenly deprived of his post, and of his seat in the Privy Council, and strange accusations, which have been most obscurely recorded, were preferred against him, and some other great men. All that we can learn on this head is that he was charged with "having taken away bolts and locks at Westminster" (probably meaning from the palace, where Edward was in a manner imprisoned) and that he "had given away the King's stuff." The tribunal, probably the packed remains of Warwick's Council, which affected to take cognizance of these alledged offences, committed him for a time to the Tower, fined him in twelve thousand pounds, to be paid at the rate of one thousand pounds yearly, and afterwards banished him to one of his country seats. "Doubtless," says Hayward on this head, "the Earl of Warwick had good reason to suspect that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose would not want the heart to oppose against it."

The Earl of Arundel retired accordingly, and lived in privacy till the King's death, soon after which he appeared among the foremost of the supporters of Mary's title to the Crown; yet Jane Grey, under the advice of her father-in-law, Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, who was perhaps willing to magnify her strength by concealing her weakness, charged those to whom she wrote to levy forces for the furtherance of her claim to make no application to the servants and tenants of Arundel, "relying on them otherwise for her service." The Earl, however, appeared presently after at the great meeting of Mary's friends at Baynard's Castle, and addressed them with a fervour of eloquence and reasoning which has preserved at least the substance of his speech from oblivion. "In this assembly," says Hayward, "the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost severity. He ran over the history of the late times, and, reckoning up every act of mismanagement, cruelty, and injustice, committed in King Edward the sixth's reign, threw the odium of all upon him only. Then he made expostulating complaints that the children of

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Henry the eighth should, contrary to all right, be thrust from the succession, and professed himself amazed to think how Northumberland had brought such great and noble persons, meaning those present, to so mean servitude as to be made the tools of his wicked designs; for it was by their consent and assistance that the Crown was put upon the daughter of Suffolk, the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the sovereignty in fact remaining in him of exercising the most uncontrollable rage and tyranny over their lives and fortunes. To accomplish this usurpation indeed the cause of religion was pretended; but, though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, 'not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of fear, but for conscience' sake;' yet who, he asked, had seen cause to think that in matters of religion Queen Mary intended any alteration? for, when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory answer; and 'what a madness is it,' says he, 'for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid uncertain danger. I heartily wish there had been no such transgression; but, since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore it is my advice that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen."

The accession of that Princess to the throne without bloodshed may perhaps be reasonably ascribed to this well-timed harangue, and to the vigour and good judgement with which the Earl pursued the course which he had so warmly advised. The assembly, wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm, rose, and instantly accompanied him into the city, where, having obtained the attendance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they proclaimed Mary with universal applause. This done, he took horse the same evening; rode into Suffolk, where she was then awaiting the issue of the contest, to communicate the tidings, and receive

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her commands ; and, on the following day, personally arrested the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and led him, a prisoner, towards the Tower of London. It is astonishing that such mighty measures should have been proposed and executed in the space of three days ; but the whole was actually accomplished on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, of July, 1553.

Mary acknowledged these eminent services with becoming gratitude ; distinguished him during her short reign by the most perfect confidence ; and bestowed on him the offices of President of her Council, and Steward of her Household. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford soon after her accession, a dignity which he of course resigned on the re-establishment of the Protestant Church by Elizabeth. He was not less favoured however by that Princess, who continued him in the post of Lord Steward, and complimented the high antiquity of his name and titles with the exalted appointments of High Constable, and High Steward, of England, at her coronation. He was even one among the few of her eminent subjects who flattered themselves, and had in all probability been flattered by her, with the hope of gaining her hand. It should seem indeed that he had explicitly offered himself, and been rejected ; for Dugdale, quoting, I believe erroneously, Camden, says, “ having fed himself with hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth for his wife, and failing therein, after he had spent much upon these vain imaginations, his friends in Court failing him, he grew troubled in mind, and thereupon, to wear off the grief, got leave to travel. This happened in 1561. How long he now remained abroad does not appear, but he was in London in December 1565, when he again obtained a licence to leave England, and went soon after into Italy, where he seems to have sojourned for four years. In his long absence from his own country he contracted a great fondness for foreign fashions, several of which, on his return, he introduced here, particularly the use of-coaches, the first of which ever seen in England was kept by himself.

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He seems to have been entirely disengaged from public affairs till the year 1569, when he was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the murder of Henry, King of Scotland, of which he avowed his opinion that Mary was innocent. His generous nature loathed the snares with which Elizabeth and her ministers surrounded that unhappy Princess, and, in a debate in the Privy Council on the suggestion of some new artifice against her, he had the boldness to say, in the Queen's presence, that "the wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not, such shifts." That which was called Mary's party now reckoned on his uniform support, but his sense of loyalty and justice was as pure as his frankness and impartiality, and when Leicester imparted to him the plan secretly formed for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, whose first lady was Arundel's daughter, he declared that he would oppose it to the utmost, unless it were previously sanctioned by Elizabeth's consent. His intercourse, however, with Mary's friends rendered him an object of suspicion, and in 1572 he suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, after which he sunk gradually in his mistress's favour, and at length wholly lost it by his determined opposition to her matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Anjou. From that time to his death he remained in retirement. "About the beginning of this year," says Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, 1580, "Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, rendered his soul to God, in whom was extinct the surname of this most noble family, which had flourished with great honour for three hundred years, and more, from the time of Richard Fitzalan, who, being descended from the Albeneyes, ancient Earls of Arundel and Sussex in the reign of Edward the first, received the title of Earl, without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Honour of Arundel." He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children, all of whom he outlived; Henry, who died at Brussels, young, and

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unmarried; Joan, married to John, Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of Norfolk enjoys that remarkable Earldom, under the tenure so clearly stated by Camden in the foregoing passage, which I have inserted for the sake of elucidating a frequently disputed point. His second lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, by whom he had no issue.

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AN attempt was made some years since to write at large the life of this admirable youth in the usual strain of regular biography, but it proved wholly ineffectual. Dr. Birch, with that indefatigable assiduity and accuracy by which he was distinguished, drew together from all authentic sources that he could discover, perhaps every letter extant which the Prince had ever received; every dedication which had ever been addressed to him; every public instrument regarding his government, his establishment, and his revenue; together with long original narratives of the tiltings and dancings in which he had taken a part, and of the entertainments which had been provided for him in his several visits and progresses. All this is useless. The life of Prince Henry was a life of prospects, and not of events; the story of a manly childhood, and a wise puberty, subjected to the customary restraints of youth, and debarred by authority from rising into public action: It is therefore chiefly in those detached sallies of character which vainly promised a splendid future fame that we are to seek for his circumscribed history. Sir Charles Cornwallis, Treasurer of his Household, was sensible of this, and has treated his subject accordingly, in a very small but interesting piece, intitled, "The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique Prince, Henry Prince of Wales;" which Birch, in his passion for biographical mechanism, has ventured, in the preface to his own work, to call "a mere pamphlet, extremely superficial, and unsatisfactory on almost every head."

Henry was born in Sterling Castle, in Scotland, on the nineteenth of February, 1594. The care of his person, and of his early education, was almost immediately committed to John Erskine, Earl of Mar, and the Dowager Countess, his mother,

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who is said to have been a singularly ill-tempered woman, and from them he was removed, at the age of six years, to the custody of Adam Newton, a very learned Scotsman, on whom James, after his accession to the throne of England, conferred the title of Baronet, and, though a layman, the Deanery of Durham. It was at this very early period of his life that his father printed his "Basilicon Doron, or his Majesty's Instructions to his dearest Son, Henry the Prince," confining the impression to seven copies, and swearing the printer to secrecy; a work which, in the vanity of his heart, he afterwards published to the whole world, under the pretence of correcting erroneous transcripts which he alledged had got abroad, in spite of all his caution. Thus trained, in a half civilized country and court, incessantly under the controul and direction of a pedantic and narrow-minded father, and of a mother lately imported from a land actually barbarous, little might reasonably have been expected from a pupil so situated. A mighty character, however, of nature overcame all these disadvantages. Henry, even from his cradle, gave infallible proofs of the best and greatest qualities. His courage, perhaps the first virtue clearly discernible in infancy, was most undaunted. It is recorded of him, that when he happened to hurt himself, even severely, in the eagerness of his infantine sports, he cried not, but concealed and denied the injury. This disposition soon took a military turn. Looking at a chace which he was too young to be allowed to follow, one of his attendants asked him whether he should like that sport. He answered "yes, but I should better like another kind of hunting; the hunting of thieves and rebels, with brave men and horses."

La Boderie, ambassador from Henry the Fourth of France to James, in a letter to the French Minister, of the 31st of October, 1606, writes thus of him: "None of his pleasures savour in the least of a child. He is a particular lover of horses, and of what belongs to them, but is not fond of hunting; and when he goes to it, it is rather for the pleasure of galloping than that which

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the dogs give him. He plays willingly enough at tennis, and at another Scottish diversion very like mall; but always with persons older than himself, as if he despised those of his own age. He studies for two hours every day, and employs the rest in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting with the bow, throwing the bar, vaulting, or some other such exercise, and is never idle. He is very kind and faithful to his dependents; supports their interests against all persons whatsoever; and pushes his endeavours for them, or others, with a zeal which seldom fails of success. He is already feared by those who have the management of affairs, and especially by the Earl of Salisbury, who appears to be greatly apprehensive of the Prince's ascendancy: while the Prince, on the other hand, shews very little esteem for his Lordship." The testimony of this foreigner deserves implicit credit, and, be it remembered, that he is speaking of a child just thirteen years old.

As his reason unfolded itself, all the milder virtues gradually shone forth in him. Such was his intire love of sincerity, that he could not endure even the innocent and usual fallacies of polite intercourse. Sir Charles Cornwallis informs us, that having laid before him, for his signature, a letter to a nobleman of whom he had no good opinion, which ended with some common place expressions of favour, the Prince commanded him to make another copy, the concluding words of which he himself dictated, saying that his hand should never affirm what his heart did not think. "He was so exact," (says an anonymous Harleian MS. addressed to the Lord and Lady Lumley, and entitled "A Relation of Prince Henry's noble and virtuous Disposition, and of sundry his witty and pleasant Speeches") in all the duties of filial piety, and bore so true a reverence and respect to the King, his father, that, though sometimes he moved his Majesty in some things relating to the public, or his own particular interests, or those of others, yet on the least word, or look, or sign, given him of his Majesty's disapprobation, he would instantly desist from

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pursuing the point; and return, either with satisfaction, upon finding it disagreeable to the King, or with such a resolved patience, that he, neither in word nor action, gave any appearance of being displeased or discontented." He was strictly pious, and most exact in the exercise of his public and private devotions, and had such an aversion to the profanation of the name of God that he was never heard to use it but devoutly: Indeed he abhorred swearing, which, probably because the King himself was much addicted to it, was the fashion of his time. It happened one day when he was hunting that the stag crossed a road in which a butcher and his dog were passing: the dog fell on the stag, and killed it, and the Prince's attendants endeavouring to incense him against the man, he answered, "if the dog killed the stag, could the butcher help it?" One of them hereupon took the liberty to say that if the King's hunting had been interrupted by such an accident he would have sworn terribly. "Nay," said the Prince, "all the pleasure in the world is not worth an oath."

Cornwallis informs us that he loved and practised justice with the utmost strictness. He manifested this disposition particularly in the government of his own family, which consisted of nearly five hundred of all ranks, in which it is said that a blow was never given, nor a quarrel carried to any height. "Whatever abuses," says that gentleman, "were represented to him he immediately redressed, to the entire satisfaction of the parties aggrieved. In his removal from one of his houses to another, and in his attendance on the King, on the same occasions, or in progresses, he would suffer no provisions or carriages to be taken up for his use, without full contentment given to the parties; and he was so solicitous to prevent any person from being prejudiced or annoyed by himself, or any of his train, that whenever he went out to hunt or hawk before harvest was ended, he would take care that none should pass through the corn, and, to set them an example, would himself ride rather a furlong about."

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These admirable moral dispositions ornamented an excellent understanding, and governed a temper naturally very haughty. Never failing in any of the duties of the mere man, Henry, in all he thought, or said, or did, seemed to have constantly in his view the great inheritance which his birth had fallaciously promised to him. His household was a little monarchy, which he ruled with equal power, policy, and benignity. He was master, theoretically, of the art of war, and may indeed be said in some measure to have practised it, for he used the frequent military exercises, for his adroitness in which he was so highly distinguished, in order to qualify himself for the field. Cornwallis informs us that "he performed them with so much dexterity and skill, that he became second to no Prince in Christendom, and superior to most of those persons who practised with him;" and adds that "he sometimes walked fast and far, to enable himself to make long marches, when they should be required." He was critically versed in all that related to the navy, even to the most minute circumstances of ship-building, and no one was more highly favoured by him than Phineas Pett, a man who had applied to the study and practice of naval architecture talents which would have rendered him eminent in any other to which he might have directed them. "He loved and did mightily strive," says Cornwallis, "to do somewhat of every thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars both at land and sea; in shooting and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of armies; in building and gardening; in all sorts of rare music, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in sculpture, limning and carving; and in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." The same author, and we cannot have a better authority, tells us that "he was extremely courteous and affable to strangers, and easily gained their affections upon a very short acquaintance," but that "he had a certain

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height of mind, and knew well how to keep his distance ; which indeed he did to all, admitting no near approach, either to his power or his secrets.”

His fault indeed, and perhaps his only fault, seems to have been a degree of reserve so strict and constant, that it could not but have been the result of a temper naturally cold and distrustful. At a time of life usually marked by the sweet errors of overconfidence, and extravagant affections, Henry appears but uncertainly in the character either of friend or lover. In the long list of his companions and attendants, Sir John Harington, son, and, for a short time successor, to the first Lord Harington of Exton, a young man of great attainments and the most amiable qualities, seems alone to have enjoyed his intimacy. Among the very few private letters written by the Prince which have been preserved is one to this gentleman, on some subjects of classical criticism, full of sprightliness and ingenuity, but without a single expression of kindness. Still less proof have we of his sacrifices to the tender passion. Cornwallis tells us, in terms which sound oddly enough in our day, that, “ having been present at great feasts made in the Prince’s house, to which he invited the most beautiful of the ladies of the Court and City, he could not discover by his Highness’s behaviour, eyes, or countenance, the least appearance of a particular inclination to any of them, nor was he at any time witness of such words or actions as could justly be a ground of the least suspicion of his virtue.” Some historical pamphleteers, on the other hand, insist that he had a successful intrigue with the beautiful and wicked Countess of Essex, to which they ascribe strange consequences, which will presently be mentioned ; but this, if true, was but a solitary amour.

He had certainly formed for himself a line of political conduct which, according to the unhappy fatality, for so it seems, in such cases, was directly opposite to that of his father. His high spirit, and the activity of his nature, had irresistibly inspired him with a warlike inclination ; and the strictness of his moral and

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religious habits and exercises, together with an utter aversion to the Romish church, rendered him the idol of the puritans, to whom, on his part, he gave many indirect proofs of favour. "He was saluted by them," says the severe, but sagacious Osborne, "as one prefigured in the Apocalypse for Rome's destruction." He seems to have been determined never to marry a Roman Catholic. James, in 1611, had proposed to him the eldest daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the King feared, and therefore hated, and of whom Henry had said that no one but his father would "keep such a bird in a cage," wrote, doubtless with the Prince's approbation, since they were dedicated to him, two admirable invectives against the match. A princess of Spain was afterwards offered to him; and in the spring of 1612 a negotiation was commenced for his marriage to a sister of Louis the thirteenth of France, which subsisted even at the time of his death, of the probable termination of which we may judge from his own declaration in his last hours, that he believed the Almighty had visited him with his grievous distemper to punish him for having listened to overtures of marriage with Roman Catholics. His discretion, his temperance, his oeconomy, and the severity as it may be called, of his manners, operated with the effect of satire and reproach on the contrary dispositions in the King, who by degrees became jealous of him, and in the end probably considered him as a formidable rival. Indeed James must have possessed supernatural philosophy to have endured the extent of his son's popularity. "The palpable partiality," says Osborne again, "that descended from the father to the Scots did estate the whole love of the English upon his son Henry, whom they engaged by so much expectation, as it may be doubted, whether it ever lay in the power of any Prince, merely human, to bring so much felicity into a nation as they did all his life propose to themselves at the death of King James."

These extravagant hopes were suddenly blasted in the autumn

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of 1612. He was then in his nineteenth year. Some change appeared to have taken place in his constitution a few months before : he grew pale and thin, and more serious than usual ; had heavy pains in his head, and occasional fainting fits ; and generally received a temporary relief from sudden bleedings at the nose, which of late had been wholly suspended, owing, as it was thought, to his imprudent practice of too frequent swimming in the Thames when at his palace at Richmond. In August, and when the weather was uncommonly hot, he rode post in two days to Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earl of Rutland, to meet the king on his progress, and returned suddenly from the fatiguing ceremonies of that visit, to prepare a great feast for the court on his taking possession of the royal house of Woodstock, which his father had lately assigned to him. These violent exertions produced an aggravated attack of his indispositions, which caused at length what his medical attendants conceived to be a fit of ague, but what was in fact the commencement of a fever of the most furious character. His numerous physicians, according to the error of that time, plied him for six days with what they called cordial restoratives, and vehemently increased the malignity of his disease. One only, and his name should be recorded, Sir Theodore Mayerne, urged the necessity of bleeding, but he was obstinately opposed by the rest of the troop. Two days were suffered to pass before they could be brought to consent, and even then it was deferred till the next morning, though nature had, previously to Mayerne's suggestion, given them the signal for his cure, by one of those sudden discharges of blood from the nose to which he had been accustomed, and which produced an immediate temporary relief. At length only seven or eight ounces were permitted to be drawn, the miserable sufferer, says Cornwallis, " desiring and calling upon them to take more, as they were about to stop the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant." " This day, after bleeding," adds Sir Charles, " the Prince found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his

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sickness he had not found himself so well ; his pulse inclining towards a more gentle motion ; missing his former cruel doublings ; and his former accidents being less, and more mild :” yet, incredible to tell, the bleeding was never repeated. Delirium, and agonizing convulsions soon followed. Still, such was the strength of his constitution, that he lived for some days, displaying in his intervals of reason the most beautiful and affecting example of patience and fortitude. He died on Friday, the sixth of November, 1612, notwithstanding that the Sages, as Cornwallis informs us, “ had lately applied to the soles of his feet a cock cloven by the back, and had redoubled their cordials in number and quantity.” A most exact and lengthened journal of his illness, and of the means resorted to for his cure, may be found in that gentleman’s narrative, exhibiting perhaps the most extraordinary and frightful instances extant of medical presumption and imbecility. Rumours were spread that he died by poison, and Carre, Viscount Rochester, then the guilty suitor, and afterwards the more guilty husband, of the Countess of Essex, was for a time suspected as the murderer ; but they obtained little credit, and certainly deserved none.

Sir Charles Cornwallis concludes his little book with the following sketch of the person of this extraordinary young man. “ He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five feet and eight inches high ; of a strong, strait, well made body, as if nature in him had shewed all her cunning ; with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste ; of an amiable majestic countenance ; his hair of an auborn colour ; long faced, and broad forehead ; a piercing grave eye ; a most gracious smile, with a terrible frown.”

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OF the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstances. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakespeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting; his personal courage almost proverbial; and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears

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by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton." He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards confirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M." which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Gervase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the *Garland*, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Tercera, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them were gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he was knighted in the field by Essex, "ere," says the author, "he could dry the

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sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598 Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, "clean contrary," says Camden, "to the Deputy's instructions;" for it seems that Southampton had not long before offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively: Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this awful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. "He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, "for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen; added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex: that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. their going into the city, which was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the

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Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: that his sword had not been drawn all that day: that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels: that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity; not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him; and this he did," concludes Camden, "in so modest and becoming a way, as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. "That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, "recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed, singularly enough, "to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled on his

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Countess : in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is nowhere clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alledged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonization; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that corporation, which had not long been established; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, "indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military

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affairs did in fact soon after recur on him ; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the Duchy-of Cleve.

In 1617, he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return: on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain however it is that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace. In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. " March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament ; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occasion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

My Lo.

I have found your Lo. alredy so favorable and affectionate unto mee that I shall be still hereafter desierus to acquaint you wth what concernes mée, & bould to aske your advice & counsell, w^{ch} makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, w^{ch} I cannot better doe then by sendinge unto you the answer itself, w^{ch} you shall receave heereinlosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not onely magnifie his Ma^{tie's} gracious dealinge wth mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, & restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, w^{ch} if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is impossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see any other then my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready, as is fitt, to acknowlege his Ma^{tie's} favor to mee, but can hardly perswade myself that any error by mee com[~]itted deserved more punishment then I have had, & hope his Ma^{tie} will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre-chamber sentence, w^{ch} God forbidd I should ever doe. I have, & shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speake as little of it as I can; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe tomorrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement, there to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe wth mee, who hoped to been discharged at the retorne of my messenger from Court, & seames much trobled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest hee should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it you shall, I thinke, doe him a favour. For my part, it is so little troble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

beseech you returne by him the inclosed L^re, & beleeve that,
whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

your Lo. most assured frend, to do you servis,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To the right honorable my very good Lo. the

Lo. Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala; the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus—"For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies." The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive." "There is no readier way," says the Lord Keeper, "to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy"—and again—"Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton."

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers; was a member of all committees on important affairs; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon

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his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted to raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature, and connection with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakespeare's two short dedications, however, of the *Poems of Venus and Adonis*, and the *Rape of Lucrece*, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant that Southampton gave to Shakespeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "*Guide to Tongues*" that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only: the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who, in his *Britannia*, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that

county — “Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriothesley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; cujus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et principi profundat.” The other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers, The nature, and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—“The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by H. G. 1618.” In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,
Which on free greatnes too too oft attends,
Can by presumption threaten your free state;
For these presaging sea-birds do amate
Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes
By their approach to feare the future windes
Of all calamitie, no lesse than they
Portend to seamen a tempestuous day;
Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,
As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto “In utraque perfectus,” is subjoined the following compliment—

What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will
Dislike this union, or not labour still
To reconcile the arts and victory?
Since in themselves arts have this quality,
To vanquish errour’s traine; what other then
Should love the arts, if not a valiant man?
Or how can he resolve to execute
That hath not first learn’d to be resolute?
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
Your great example shall their spite confute.

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This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned ; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the first, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters ; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton ; Anne, married to Robert Wollop, of Farley, in Hants ; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.

ROBERT BERTIE,

FIRST EARL OF LINDSEY.

THIS heroic nobleman was the eldest of the five sons of a father not less heroic, Peregrine Bertie, who inherited the Barony of Willoughby of Eresby from his mother, Catherine, fourth wife to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the remarkable circumstances of whose flight from the vengeance of Queen Mary, with her second husband, Richard Bertie, and of their subsequent exile, have justly formed a favourite subject for the modern writers of memoirs of that time. His mother was Mary, daughter of John Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford.

He was born in London on the sixteenth of December, 1582, and received his Christian name from eminent sponsors, Elizabeth's then present and future favourites, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, together with the Queen herself as godmother. His education is said to have been conducted with uncommon care, first, under the ablest tutors, in his father's house, afterwards for a short time in the University of Cambridge, and then in foreign travel for the space of four years, but with little resemblance to the fashion of such tours in later days, and in a mode probably not altogether consonant to the wishes of his parents; for he had early given way to a fondness for military affairs till it assumed the form of a passion, and he seems to have lost no opportunity during his absence of observing the practice of war in all its branches. Thus he was at least a witness to all that passed in Essex's expedition to Cadiz, and, if we may believe Lloyd, who in his "Memoirs of Sufferers in the Grand Rebellion" gives some confused particulars of him, an actor also. "His great spirit," says Lloyd "was

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so impatient of delay that, when it was voted that they should set upon the town and ships, he and the Earl of Essex threw up their caps, and were so forward that he was knighted in the market place, where he said ‘an old woman with a stone knocked down the Esquire, and the General commanded him to rise a knight.’” His name however does not appear in the list given by Camden of those on whom that distinction was conferred during the expedition, and indeed how much of the foregoing idle tale may be correct is uncertain.

From Cadiz he went, doubtless accompanying his gallant kinsman Sir Francis Vere, whom he had found at that place, and who just at that time left it for his command in the Low Countries. There Bertie was present in most of the actions which almost daily occurred, as he afterwards was in the sanguinary battle of Nieuport, where he was thrice unhorsed, and in which it was remarkable that of fifteen hundred English who fought there under the command of the Veres, not one escaped without a wound. In the winter of 1597 he visited at Paris Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury, the English ambassador at that Court, from whence, on his way homewards, he gratified himself by halting for a while before Amiens, then closely besieged. He soon however became weary of inactivity, and embarked with the romantic Earl of Cumberland on one of his expeditions to the Spanish West Indies, from whence returning, he soon after accompanied Lord Zouche in his embassy to Moscow, and, having seen as much of Russia as was practicable, made the tour of Denmark and Sweden, and had scarcely arrived at home when he set out on a visit to the Earl of Essex in Ireland. The death of his father had now invested him with the Peerage, and the possession of great estates; but still restless and inquisitive, he sailed early in the spring of 1602 with Monson and Levison on a predatory cruise against the Spaniards, and was present at their capture on the coast of Portugal of a galleon said to contain the value of a million of ducats.

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He condescended at length to a voyage of general science and elegant enquiry, and presently after the accession of James, went for some months to Italy, after which he made one of the Earl of Nottingham's noble party in his splendid embassy to Madrid, and on his return from thence, once more indulged his favourite inclination by a short stay in the camp before Ostend, the remarkable siege of which was then at it's height. He now settled finally in England. The death of his mother, which occurred about this period, produced considerations which diverted his active mind to more temperate, as well as more important objects. He was advised that he had become entitled in her right to the Earldom of Oxford, and several Baronies, as well as to the ancient hereditary place of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, all which had been for ages held by the House of Vere, and the necessarily tedious discussion of these claims terminated in the denial of the dignities, and the confirmation to him of the office. He had also lately married a lady whom he entirely loved. The honest contemplation of the dignity of his own station, of his extensive possessions, and of the untried charms of domestic life, had opened views entirely new to him ; and now, had it not been for the dismal occurrences in his own country, which in the end called for the best fruits of his former military experience, he would have descended to the grave, probably after a very long life, remarkable only for unsullied honour, and uninterrupted felicity. But other distinctions awaited him, and they must too soon be mentioned.

He now retired to a country life, in which he mostly passed the remainder of this reign, with a high fame for all the qualities which are thought most to adorn a great man in that situation ; but on the accession of Charles the first, by whom he had always been much esteemed, he came again to the Court, and not many months after, on the twenty-second of November, 1626, was advanced to the title of Earl of Lindsey. In 1630 he was elected a Knight of the Garter ; in 1636 was appointed Lord High

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Admiral of England; and, on the rising of the Scots in 1639, Governor of Berwick. Charles however designed him for a higher service when the awful occasion should occur which now began to seem inevitable, and for which himself, and his son Montague Lord Willoughby, the chief circumstances of whose excellent life will also be found in this work, had been for several months engaged in preparing their tenants and dependants. When at length no alternative was left to the King but war, he nominated the Earl of Lindsey General in chief of his forces, and in that character he attended his Majesty when he planted his standard at Nottingham on the 25th of August, 1642.

Few days even had passed when, according to the frequent ill fortune of armies, a cause of discord arose between the first and second in command. Charles had appointed his nephew, Prince Rupert, General of the Horse, and at his earnest importunity, had allowed to be inserted in his commission, which was not delivered to him till after the setting up of the standard, a clause exempting him from receiving any orders but from the King himself. This imprudent step took in fact the Horse out of the hands of the General, who became overwhelmed with chagrin, and was prevented only by the ardour of his loyalty from resigning his charge in the moment that he made the discovery. But this was not all. It presently appeared that Rupert had made himself the King's chief councillor for the conduct of the war, and that Charles, from affection, or better opinion, or submission to the Prince's rough and dogmatical manner, most frequently preferred his advice to the General's. Lindsey, as the main army of the rebels was in the neighbourhood, and it had been determined to engage it without delay, stifled for the present his resentment. The battle of Edgehill, in fact the first action of the war, speedily followed, and afforded an ample example of the mischief to be expected from the error of making Prince Rupert independent of the General, for by leading off his Horse at his

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own discretion, in an imprudent pursuit early in the day, he left to the King, who in the beginning of the engagement had a fair prospect of a decided victory, the poor satisfaction of a drawn battle. At this point of time, the reserve of the rebel Horse, suddenly discovering the absence of those of the King, made a furious charge on the center of the royal infantry, in which the Earl of Lindsey, bravely fighting with the rest, received a fatal pistol shot in the thigh. The enemy instantly surrounded him, and the Lord Willoughby, who happened to be close to him when he fell, cut his way through them in a desperate hope of rescuing his father, and fell also into their hands—I will give the conclusion of this piteous tale in the words of Lord Clarendon, who has mingled with it some particulars of Lindsey's character.

“The Earl of Lindsey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors, which, though he did not manage with so great care as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the King's army, the several companies of his own regiment of Foot being commanded by the principal knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him, which made him bear that restriction so heavily which was put upon him by the commission granted to Prince Rupert; and by the King's preferring the Prince's opinion in all matters relating to the war before his: nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, that he did not look upon

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himself as General: and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be in the head of his regiment as a private colonel, where he would die."

"He was carried out of the Field to the next village, and if he could then have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal: and as soon as the other army was composed by the coming on of the night, the Earl of Essex about midnight sent Sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw, in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks, and told them he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion; and principally directed his discourse to Sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of the great obligations he had to the King; how much his Majesty had disobliged the whole English nation by putting him into the command of the Tower; and that it was the most odious ingratitude to him to make him that return. He wished them to tell my Lord Essex that he ought to cast himself at the King's feet to beg his pardon, which if he did not speedily do his memory would be odious to the whole nation; and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence that the officers by degrees withdrew themselves, and prevented the visit the Earl of Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his wounds he died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies, and died generally lamented."

The Earl of Lindsey married Elizabeth, sole issue by the first marriage, of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton, and had by her nine sons; Montagu, his successor; Sir Roger, a Knight of the Bath; Robert, who died in infancy; Peregrine; Francis, who fell in the field in Ireland; Robert; Henry, also killed in

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battle; Vere; and Edward: and four daughters; Catherine, wife of Sir William Paston, of Oxnead, in Norfolk, Bar^t.; Elizabeth, married to Sir Miles Stapleton, of Carlton, in Yorkshire; Anne, who died a spinster; and Sophia, wife, first of John Hewit, D.D. who was beheaded during Cromwell's usurpation; and, secondly, of Sir Abraham Shipman.

WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE life of this prelate can be here but slightly sketched, for it comprised with the history of the Church of England, most of the political history also of his time. The mutual dependance on each other of the ecclesiastical establishment and the state has never been at any other epoch so clearly proved; and the proof is self-evident in the awful ruin of both which immediately followed their disjunction. Laud saw the danger, and endeavoured to avert it, but he was not master of the means. With great simplicity of mind, and equal warmth of temper; an admirable scholar; an acute logician; sincerely pious and honest, and eminently loyal; he was qualified neither for the primacy nor the cabinet. He possessed great talents, but scarcely any of the faculties necessary to form what is usually called a great man, except firmness, which, in the absence of the rest, was worse than useless. He fondly sought to cool the rage of faction by fair and sound argument; and to correct the obstinacy of schism by pastoral exhortation, and just, but imprudent discipline. The only faults in his moral character were passion and haughtiness; and the great error of his life was his belief that innocence of heart, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through the world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: "and sure," adds the great historian, "never any man was better supplied with that provision."

His birth was decent. He was the son of William Laud, a clothier, of Reading, in Berkshire, and a man of property, by

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Lucy, sister of William Webb, a citizen of London, who became afterwards an alderman and knight, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1591. He was born on the seventh of October, 1573, and bred in the free school at Reading, from whence he removed to St. John's college in Oxford, where he was entered a fellow commoner at the age of sixteen. From his tutor, John Bucke-ridge, then a fellow of that house, and who died Bishop of Ely, a zealous opponent equally of popery and puritanism, he imbibed that earnest attachment to the church, to which he owed his exaltation and his fall. He remained several years in the University; became a fellow of his college; took the degrees of bachelor, and master of arts, and bachelor of divinity; and served the office of proctor. The boldness and perseverance with which he denied the doctrines of Calvin, had already procured him much fame, and many enemies, among whom Dr. Abbot, then Vice-chancellor, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was strangely inclined to that wayward profession, was the most formidable; and a circumstance of his private ministry, which occurred during the heat of his academical disputes, contributed to cloud his prospects. Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, a gallant soldier, and a man of careless morals, who in 1603 had appointed Laud his domestic chaplain, had been warmly attached to Penelope, one of the daughters of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and wife to the Lord Rich, before her marriage to that nobleman; and an adulterous intercourse having been afterwards discovered between them, she was repudiated with the due forms of law. The Earl, on his return from the wars of Ireland, resolved to marry her, and Laud, at his request, in 1605, performed the nuptial service. This act, though strictly legal, gave much offence. The life of the lady had been peculiarly scandalous; and it was deemed a profanation of the sacred rite to lend it to her benefit. His enemies magnified his fault to the utmost of their power; and it was represented in the worst light to the King, who knew, and had been before inclined to favour him; and James resented it so

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warmly, that for several years he would not suffer Laud's name to be mentioned in his presence. Laud, on his part, felt so keenly the sense of his misconduct and his misfortune in this affair that he ever after made the twenty-sixth of December, on which the marriage took place, a day of fasting and humiliation; and a long penitential prayer is extant, which he composed for the occasion.

He possessed no benefice till 1607, when he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and in the following year he obtained the rectory of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire; proceeded Doctor in Divinity; and was appointed by Neile, Bishop of Rochester, his domestic chaplain. He now exchanged his Leicestershire living for the rectory of West Tilbury, in Essex, to which Neile, who became his warm patron, soon after added that of Cuckstone, in Kent. That Prelate, having been in 1610 translated to the See of Lichfield and Coventry, was succeeded at Rochester by Laud's first and firmest friend, Dr. Buckeridge, who, through that promotion, vacated the presidency of St. John's college, and these Bishops exerted their best influence to procure his election to that office. Abbot, now Primate, as earnestly opposed it, and prevailed on the Chancellor Ellesmere to mention Laud unfavourably to the King; telling the Chancellor, according to Heylin's account, that he was "at least a Papist in his heart, and that if he were suffered to have any place of government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great detriment of religion." Neile however interfered; and, some irregular practices having been used at the election to Laud's disadvantage, prevailed on James, to whom such offices were always agreeable, to determine it by his authority. The King employed three hours in the examination of the case; was convinced that Laud had been treated unjustly; and not only decided the question in his favour, but soon after appointed him one of his chaplains. Four years however elapsed without any further sign of royal grace. In the mean time Neile

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who was now translated to the See of Lincoln, and had appointed him a Prebendary of that church, and Archdeacon of Huntingdon, endeavoured earnestly to recommend him, and was opposed by Abbot, with at least equal vigilance. Neile at length succeeded; and, in November 1614, the King bestowed on Laud the Deanery of Gloucester, a dignity more important to him as an earnest of future favour than for the value of its revenues.

But he received soon after a stronger mark of James's good opinion, as well of his ministry as of his talents, in being appointed one of the clerical attendants on that Prince in his journey into Scotland in the spring of 1617; the arduous object of which was to bring that Church to an uniformity with the Church of England. The pains taken by him in that unsuccessful design highly gratified the King; yet he rose very gradually. He received no profitable mark of favour till January, 1620, when he was appointed to a Prebend of Westminster; and on the twenty-ninth of the following June was nominated Bishop of St. David's. He had however acquired about this time the good will of the Marquis of Buckingham, then the chief fountain of promotion, both in church and state, and his elevation became certain. His conference with Fisher, in which he became engaged immediately after he was raised to the Prelacy, was instituted at the Marquis's request, for the especial purpose of guarding his mother against the arguments of that acute Jesuit, employed by the Romanists, who knew her influence over her son, to endeavour to reconcile her to their faith; and that celebrated disputation, which is indeed a masterpiece of argument, as well as of Christian erudition, bound the favourite to him in the strictest friendship. When Buckingham made his memorable journey to Spain, it soon became evident that he had left to Laud the superintendence of his affairs at court. In this situation the most mild and cautious could scarcely have escaped jealousy: it is not strange then that Laud should have provoked it to the utmost. The Lord Keeper Williams, not less choleric, resented openly this

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diversion of Buckingham's good graces from himself; and their quarrel was extended nearly to personal violence. In the mean time his old enemy Abbot, and others, revived to his disadvantage the matter of the Earl of Devonshire's marriage, which had slept for twenty years; and he found it prudent to defend himself, by making a full exposition of his conduct in it to the King. While these feuds were raging, Williams fell into disgrace; Abbot was sequestered, in consequence of an accidental homicide; King James died; and Laud, who seemed thus to have become suddenly a favourite of fortune, rose presently to a degree of consideration which, while it placed him for a time above the reach of his enemies, served in the end but to enhance the weight of his fall.

In 1626, soon after the accession of Charles, he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, sworn of the Privy Council, and translated to the See of Bath and Wells; and in 1628 to that of London. In the same year the first parliamentary attack was made on him by the puritan faction in the House of Commons. There was too much decency yet remaining in the majority of that body to allow it to countenance the accusation of Popery, which had been so long levelled at him without doors; but he was charged with Arminianism, in the remonstrance which was voted not long before the dissolution of that Parliament. It is probable that this blow was rather intended to aggravate the weight of the vengeance then meditated against his great friend Buckingham, than to injure the Bishop himself. Be this as it might, the Duke, within very few weeks after, was taken off by assassination, and Charles, with more good meaning than judgment, instantly bestowed on Laud the same degree of confidence and power which that extraordinary man had so long held; and by that grace placed him in the same peril from which his patron had been just before removed. This partiality of the King's towards him was visible only in its effect on public affairs, for Laud acquired then no temporal appointment; so that he

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was considered rather as a favourite than a minister, which increased his unpopularity. In the mean time he governed in ecclesiastical matters with a strictness that bordered on severity; and yet those who can examine his conduct dispassionately will find that he never uttered nor countenanced a judicial sentence that was not strictly just. Such even were those of the Star-chamber (where, by the way, though he incurred all the odium, he sat but as an ordinary member), under the authority of which, frightful corporal punishments, and great fines, were inflicted on the flagitious libellers, Leighton, Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne. The prudence of those measures may indeed be reasonably doubted; but this is no place for lengthened disquisition. On the twelfth of April, 1630, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and in the spring of 1633 waited on the King at his coronation in Scotland. He renewed there with earnestness his favourite plan of accomplishing an union of the two Churches; and the partial success of his endeavours produced afterwards the worst consequences. On the fourth of August in that year, within very few days after his return from Scotland, he succeeded Abbot in the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

It is the intention of this small memoir to give chiefly such circumstances of the life of Laud as have been slightly, or not at all, mentioned in history, and to touch in a more general way on those which have been already largely recorded. To pursue that course, therefore, for the events of his Primacy are well known, I will observe, that his activity, which had gradually increased with his power, arose now to its utmost height, and that the obstinacy of his adversaries at least kept pace with it. Their refractory spirit did but increase his vigour, for his courage was equal to his zeal. Among his regulations for the restoration of the genuine usages of the Church of England, no one was more resisted by the sectaries than his order to replace the altar in its ancient situation: and they affected to regard with the utmost horror the revival of what was called the Book of Sports, the true

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and original intention of which was to prevent the profanation of Sunday by immoral recreations. In his eagerness for uniformity of worship he prohibited the use of their own liturgies to Protestant foreigners resident in England, who quitted it therefore in great numbers; and, as almost all those persons were merchants or manufacturers, he rendered himself odious by this measure to the whole commercial body of his own country, to whom it occasioned considerable loss and inconvenience. The same disposition led him, though less openly, to exert his authority, or at least his endeavours, to restrict the freedom of the Romish worship in the Queen's family; and thus he lost the good will of the Catholics, even while the puritans were insisting that he was in his heart a Papist. But his measures in Scotland produced results equally miserable to his country and himself. In his late visit to that kingdom he had prevailed on the Bishops there to enjoin the use of a liturgy approved, in fact composed, by himself, and his brother Prelates in England, together with certain canons for the government of the Scottish Church; and the promulgation of these, which had been long delayed, produced instantly the most frantic tumults, and caused in the end the formation of that vile and fatal code of fanaticism and rebellion, which its authors dignified with the title of the solemn league and covenant.

Such were his proceedings with regard to the Church; nor was his political conduct more temperate. It was not till 1634 that he was first named to temporal offices. He was then appointed a member of the Committee for trade, and the King's revenues; and, within a few weeks after, when the Treasury was put into commission on the death of Weston, Earl of Portland, was chosen one of the Commissioners, and also placed on what was then called the Foreign Committee. In these several situations the King's partiality, and the character of his own temper, naturally led him to assume a dictatorial authority, and feuds arose, injurious to the public service, between himself and his

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colleagues, particularly in the Treasury, which at the end of a year determined him to quit it. He prevailed however on Charles not only to dissolve that commission, which was certainly composed of wise and experienced persons, but to nominate for Lord Treasurer his friend, Bishop Juxon, an incomparable ornament in all respects to his sacred profession, and perhaps therefore wholly unfit to sit at the helm of public affairs. Here, as in all the rest, Laud erred from good motives. He had discovered that great frauds and peculations were practised in the department of the Treasury, and that many former Treasurers had connived at them, in order the more effectually to secure to themselves the largest share of the spoil ; and, charmed by his conviction of Juxon's perfect integrity, he overlooked his various disqualifications. Of this appointment, unfortunately made at a moment when the conciliation of parties was most essential to the King's interests, Lord Clarendon says that " the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great office, and the greatest of the Nobility, who were in the chiefest employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of them ; when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of London, a man so unknown that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom. This inflamed more than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the Archbishop, who was the known architect of this new fabric, but most unjustly indisposed many towards the Church itself, which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices." Not less unpopular, however necessary, were the ordinations by which, in 1637, he vainly endeavoured to curb that gigantic creature of careless forbearance which has since obtained the name of the liberty of the press. On the eleventh of July in that year he procured a decree in the Starchamber to regulate the trade of printing, by which the printers were restricted to a precise number, and the publication of any book which had not been licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of

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London, or by one of their chaplains, or by the Chancellor, or Vice-chancellor, of one of the Universities, strictly prohibited.

The public character of Laud, which was in fact balanced between good intentions and bad management, has perhaps never yet been fairly estimated, even by the most impartial ; and it has been truly observed that of no other man has so much good, and so much evil, been reported. This however is certain, that he fell a sacrifice, not to justice, but to the inordinate rage of a faction. He was one of the first objects of the vengeance of the Long Parliament. On the eighteenth of December, 1640, not many weeks after the meeting of that fatal assembly, an impeachment of high treason against him was carried up by Denzil Holles to the Peers, and received by them with equal satisfaction ; but his enemies, in the extravagancy of their hatred, had forgotten to provide themselves with specific charges. At length, at the end of ten weeks, during which he was confined in the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Henry Vane presented to the Lords fourteen articles, most of which were notoriously false, and not one of them approaching to treason. He was now removed to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner for three years, in which interval he was gradually stripped, under the illegal authority of various votes, sometimes of one House of Parliament, sometimes of the other, not only of all the functions and revenues of his Archbishopric, but nearly of the whole of his private property. At last, on the twelfth of March, 1643-4, he was brought to trial on the fourteen charges first preferred against him, to which the Commons had lately added ten others, and had adopted also a large and confused body of accusation supplied by the Scottish commissioners then in London. Twenty days were passed in the proceeding, which was equally distinguished by the ingenuity and the malignity with which it was conducted, and yet in the end his prosecutors durst not call either on the House of Peers, or on a jury, to decide on the evidence. The Commons, however, had determined to shed the blood of this champion of

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the Church and the Monarchy, and, even in the hour of their most tender solicitude for the liberties of the subject, and the just administration of the laws, had recourse therefore to an engine of tyranny so monstrous and hateful that it had been rarely used, even in the most despotic times. On the sixteenth of November following his trial they passed a bill for his attainder, which they immediately sent up to the Lords. In that assembly, deprived as it then was of the flower of its order, and bitterly inimical to the accused, some remnant of justice, as well as of dignity, yet resided. The bill remained with them, scarcely noticed, till the beginning of the succeeding January, on the fourth of which month it was passed, in a very thin house, awed by the threats of a savage mob, at that moment besieging its doors with outcries for justice. Prynne, the most bitter of his enemies, but for whose hatred the infirmity of nature may be fairly pleaded in apology, and whom the House of Commons had most scandalously invested with a formal agency in his prosecution, tells us that "he made on his trial as full, as gallant, and as pithy a defence, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and with as much art, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence;" and Ludlow, one of the most honest, though one of the sternest, of the Puritan regicides, frankly owns that "he was beheaded for the encouragement of the Scots." He suffered death on Tower Hill, with the same courage and piety which had distinguished his whole life, on the tenth of January, 1644-5.

The moral character of Laud was of such perfect purity that his most rancorous enemies never durst attempt to impeach it, unless we could give credit to their vulgar cry of his inclination to Popery, and charge him therefore with hypocrisy. It may be worth while to observe on that head that the Romanists themselves, not only in England but also on the continent, considered him as the most formidable enemy to their Church. Salmonet, an ingenious Frenchman, who wrote a history of the troubles of Great Britain, makes the following acute remark on his revival of

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those decent and dignified forms and ceremonies which the fanatics considered, or rather affected to consider, as infallible proofs of his affection to that Church: "Il pensoit si peu à y restablir la communion Catholique, qu'au contraire il eseroit par cette face exterieure qu'il donnoit à toutes choses, et qui ressembloit fort à celle des premiers temps de l'église, d'attirer les Catholiques de ce royaume là à la communion Anglicane, et de rompre ce lien d'unité qui les tient attachez à la chaire de St. Pierre." Lord Clarendon, who argues, perhaps with unnecessary earnestness to clear him from that imputation, tells us that "he was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their usual maxim and practice, call every man they do not love Papist."— "The Archbishop," says Lord Clarendon, in another place, speaking of the contest between the followers of Arminius and the Calvinists, "had all his life opposed Calvin's doctrines in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of; and, thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a Papist, which nobody believed him to be; and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings than most men had done; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous usage from him for their propagating that calumny against him."

For the rest, the noble historian informs us that "he was a man of great parts, alloyed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities, and of great courage and resolution; and, being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions and designs but what was pious and just, as sure no man ever had a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his country, he never studied the easiest ways to those ends: he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little, nor cared to make

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his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say, of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressions, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for, or cherished, the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power, or will, to chastise. Persons of honour and quality, of the Court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted, to their shame and punishment." But it is said that Laud wanted prudence—Had he possessed what the world usually calls prudence, Lord Clarendon must have sought for other materials wherewith to embalm his memory.

Laud's disinterestedness and munificence were in every way remarkable. His private charities were unbounded. It was his constant practice to allot a certain number of poor to each of his church preferments, in proportion to the amount of their revenues respectively, whom he maintained, and he commenced that practice on his induction into the first benefice ever held by him. His public foundations, especially in Oxford, were princely. He built almost the whole of the inner quadrangle of St. John's College; augmented its library with many manuscripts; and bestowed on it a gift of five hundred pounds in money. He erected an extensive building at the west end of the Divinity school, and the Bodleian library, the lower part of which was appropriated to the Convocations, and other public meetings of

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the University, and the upper part, opening into the public library, to the reception of books, in which is deposited his own splendid collection ; for he had given, at different times, to the University thirteen hundred manuscripts, collected by himself at immense expense. He founded there also an Arabic lecture, and obtained for St. John's College the advowson of St. Laurence, at Reading, in Berkshire, in which town he built a hospital, and endowed it with an annual revenue of two hundred pounds. When the persecution against him was instituted, he was deeply engaged in perfecting some of the noblest plans for the advancement of piety and learning that had ever been devised by a subject.

His published works are fewer, and less important, than might have been expected from such a man. They consist of seven sermons, preached on public occasions, between the years 1620 and 1629, which were first printed singly, and reprinted together in 1651 : his conference with Fisher, which has been spoken of above : an answer to the remonstrance of the House of Commons in 1628 : a speech delivered in the Star-chamber, on the censure of Prynne, and the rest. These were printed by himself. The following did not appear till after his death : a Diary of his life, exquisitely illustrative of his true character, which was published with "an History of his Troubles and Tryal," by the learned Henry Wharton : "Annotations, or Memorables, of King James the First," which may be found in Rushworth's Collections : a Letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, and many others : an historical Account of the Affairs of the University of Oxford during his Chancellorship ; "Officium Quotidianum ;" and another Manual of private Devotions.

Archbishop Laud died unmarried. His body was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, in London, but was removed, after the Restoration, to the chapel of his favourite house, St. John's College, in Oxford.

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

FIRST EARL OF MIDDLESEX.

To those, if such are still to be found, who would maintain that James the first either felt the dignity, or understood the interests, of royalty ; or possessed the wisdom, or even the cunning, of a politician ; it will be sufficient to answer that he advanced this person to the first post in his government, and nearly to the highest rank of the peerage, at the precise moment when the public respect to the aristocracy began evidently to fail, and when the aid of that body was more than ever necessary to the support of the throne. Lionel Cranfield was a man of such ordinary birth that even the names and stations of his parents have never yet been accurately published. Fuller, quoting too, in some very strange mistake, the register of the parish of St. Michael Basinghall, states him to have been the “ son of Randal Cranfield, citizen, and Martha his wife, daughter to the Lady Denny, of Gloucestershire.” Lloyd asserts, without the smallest foundation, that “ his family was ancient in that county.” And Dugdale, who, had he taken the trouble to consult the records of his own college, would have instantly discovered the truth, tells us no more than that his father was Thomas Cranfield, of London ; to whose name however he wantonly adds the style of Esquire, a distinction which, so lately as in Dugdale’s time, was very rarely abused by any. Even Lord Clarendon believed him to be well descended. The fact is, that he was the youngest of the two sons of Thomas Cranfield, a mercer of London, whose ancestors are utterly unknown, by Martha, daughter of Vincent Randall, who seems also to have been a tradesman of that city, though really of

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a gentleman's family. Armorial ensigns were granted by Camden, in 1613, to Lionel, and his elder brother, Randall.

Of his education we know nothing. The quaint Lloyd says that "he was his own tutor, and his own university;" and adds, in which Arthur Wilson and others agree, that he was bred in the Custom House, which he left for the mercantile profession; and a merchant he remained till he had nearly reached the fortieth year of his age. But he was a merchant of rare character; for, while he practised with industry the vulgar conduct of trade, he studied it as a science, and became master, if a noble term may be so applied without profanation, of the philosophy of commerce. Thus recommended, at a time when commercial revenue was in its infancy, and the necessities of the state and of the court at their utmost height, he was, by means till now unknown, brought to the notice of James the first, as a person likely to devise eligible projects to raise money. His introduction to that prince has been erroneously ascribed, owing probably to the hasty construction of a passage in Lord Clarendon's account of him, to Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham; but Cranfield was in some degree of favour before Villiers was even known to the King. Mr. John Chamberlaine, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated "London, July 8, 1613," says, "Sir Thomas Waller, Lieutenant of Dover Castle, is lately dead of a burning fever, and his place, they say, is bestowed upon one Sir Lionel Cranfield, a merchant of this town, of Ingram's profession, who is grown in great favour with the Lord Privy Seal, and rides ordinarily in his coach with him, and, by his means, was knighted on Sunday last." Howard, Earl of Northampton then, who at that time held the privy seal, and who was himself a projector, and a commercial theorist, was evidently Cranfield's first patron, and procured, or rather conferred on him, this his first appointment; for Northampton, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, was Governor of Dover Castle.

The commencement of Villiers's influence may be fixed with certainty to the spring of 1615, in the course of which year he

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leaped from the place of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the superb office of Master of the Horse, and within very few months after obtained the Garter and the Peerage. On the twentieth of November, 1616, Cranfield was appointed a Master of the Requests; soon after, Master of the King's great wardrobe; and on the fifteenth of January, 1618, Master of the Court of Wards. These important promotions he owed, in all probability, to Villiers; for, at some time within the period just now referred to, he had married a first cousin of that favourite, who was now Marquis of Buckingham. But Buckingham had other motives for befriending Cranfield. The pursuit of selfish views, like all other things, is subject to the fashion of the time, and opposite means, in politics as well as in morals, may produce the same effect. Ministers then sold favours, instead of purchasing them; and public employments, instead of being conferred as bribes, were obtained by bribery. In the Harleian MSS. No. 1581, is the following original letter to the Marquis, unluckily without date of the year, but doubtless soliciting some one, most probably the latter, of the appointments just mentioned.

My most honnored Lord,

I know yo^r power, and nothingse doubtē yo^r ho^{ble} favour towardes me, but ther are so manye and so greate competitors for that I desire, and ther wilbe so greate meanes and greate offers made unto yow for it, that it wilbe a myracle in this fallce adge yf yow shalbe pleased to continewe constant to me, the first mover, and to whom yow^r L^p was pleased, wth a noble freenés, to engadge yo^r ho^{ble} worde, upon w^{ch} I do wholly relye. It is the place I onlye affecte, and in w^{ch} I desire to doe his Ma^{tie} service, w^{ch} shalbe with that faithfulness and paynes executed, yf by yo^r ho^{ble} favor I may have it, as no man shall do better.

I have done the King many profitable services, wth hazard of my estate and lyfe, and no man hath beene more willinge to do yo^r Lo^p service then my selfe, for both w^{ch} I suffer, and have lost

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

all other frends. Now, if ever, is the tyme for yo^r Lo^p to settle me, in despight of all my enemies, by letting me fynde the fruites of yo^r ho^{ble} favor in this perticuler, for w^{ch} yow shall ever com^aund my estate and lyfe to do yow service. Besides, for the present, I will bringe to yo^r Lo^p, to be disposed of at yo^r pleasure, fower thowsand pounds in golde, and yet will acknowledge yo^r favor to be such as I shall never be able to deserve. I am now upon the stadge for it, allthowghe I observed yo^r com^aund most strictlye, so that I feare the contents of my former letter were discovered. To prevent the licke in this, I praye yo^r Lo^p after yow have reade it to burne it, and to wrighte me yo^r pleasure but in 3 lynes wth yo^r own hande ; for, as I have made no meanes but to yo^r ho^{ble} selfe im^ediately, so I humblye desire no creature lyvinge may be acquainted wth what passeth, for I will wth all willingnes subscribe to any conditions shalbe propounded, my humble suite now beinge no more but that by yo^r ho^{ble} favour I may be preferred before any other.

It is my misfortune to be stayed here upon the King's waightie buysines at this tyme when it were most fitt I should waight upon yo^r L^p to solicit yo^r favor about that w^{ch} above all thinges I desire ; but within few dayes I shall waight upon yo^r L^p to give such an accompte of that imployment as I hope shalbe welcom to yo^r Honnor, and most acceptable to the Kinge ; and therfore conclude my letter wth this humble request ; that yo^r L^p wilbe pleased to keepe the Kinge free of promis abowt it, and that yo^r L^p will stand no otherwise ingaged but for me, untill I come to the courte, w^{ch} shalbe within 3 or 4 dayes, at w^{ch} tyme I hope to give yo^r Honnor such content as yow shall thinck this ho^{ble} favor well bestowed. And so I humblye tacke leave, ever resting yo^r L^p's humble and faithfulest servant,

LIONEL CRANFELD.

London, the 28 Januarye.

He now rose with uncommon rapidity. On the fifth of January, 1620, he was sworn of the Privy Council ; on the ninth of July,

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in the succeeding year, advanced to the Peerage, by the title of Baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, in Bedfordshire; on the thirteenth of the following October received the staff of Lord Treasurer; and on the sixteenth of September, 1622, was created Earl of Middlesex. He fell as suddenly. James, whom he really seems to have served faithfully as well as wisely, had become weary of the thralldom in which he was held by the imperious Buckingham, and sought relief in the boldness of Middlesex, who undertook to protect him. The favourite presently began to consider him as a rival; but we find nothing of treachery in the conduct of the Treasurer towards him, nor indeed much of ingratitude, for indeed he had probably purchased most of his favours with money. Their quarrel began during Buckingham's absence with the Prince, in Spain. The expenses of that romantic expedition were enormous; the Exchequer was drained; and the Treasurer, honestly enough, as it should seem, had counselled frugality. In an original letter from him to Buckingham, No. 1581, in the Harleian papers, and in an extract from another, we find hints to that effect, as well as of their incipient division.

“ My most honored Lord,

I wrott unto yow some 10 dayes synce, wth an intendment to have sent it by my Lord of Leppington, but, he being wynde bound, I send it by this bearer. Synce the wrighting whereof the certeyne newes of the Prynce's salffe aryvall, and yo^r Lo^{p's}, at the court of Spayne, wth yo^r royall entretaynement, and the content the Prynce tacketh in his Prynces, hath overjoyed the Kinge, and all honest well affected subjectes; for the ladye givinge his Highnes contentment is of more consequens, and more to be respected, then ten tymes her portion; for his Highnes beinge pleased in her, all comforts and blessings will followe them both, w^{ch} God in m^cye grant, and send a happy and speedy conclusion.

The shippes wilbe all redy to sett sale by the last of Aprill

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

next, for the monye to sett them forth is allredy paid. I was never put to such a plunge for monye, the som beinge so greate, and to be all disbursed so suddeynlye. I hope the Prynce, wth his ladye, wilbee as forward, w^{ch} I beseech yo^r L^p by all meanes hasten, for it is not fytt, nor wilbe salffe, that the Prynce, and the strengthe of the kingdome, w^{ch} are the shippes, should be longe owt of the kingdome together, espetially considering so manye of his Ma^{tie}'s subjectes are ill affected to the buyssines. I hope yo^r L^p will not forgett the monye. I knowe not whether the neces- setye or the expectation of it are greater. I beseeche yo^r L^p tacke care of it, as a thinge of mayne importance.

The clowdes w^{ch} begane to gather upon the Prync's dep[~]ture, and yo^r L^p's, are, upon this last newes of yo^r salffe aryvall, and royall intretaynement at the court of Spayne, much dispersed; but of those passag[~]s herafter, when I shalbe so happy to see yow; in the meane tyme, blesse God for having a most constant and gracious maister.

There is now an excesse of kyndnesse between the Lady my wyffe and myselffe, and hope it shall not be in the power of the Dyvell himselffe ever to macke it otherwyse herafter; and yett I assure yo^r L^p those evill spiritts that weare very active at Christmas to devyde yo^r L^p and mee are not yet quiett, but have been more buyssye then ever synce yo^r dep[~]ture: but I laughe, and skorne the basenesse and poorenes of their plotts, and so will yo^r L^p when I shall acquaint yow wth them; and therfore I besech yo^r L^p to rest confident that my love and thanckfullnes to yow, althowghe they bee worthe nothinge more then yow shalbe pleased to vallowe them, are so rooted as they cannot be shacken; no, not by that damned feinde jelosye, w^{ch} hathe so often undermined the p[~]fectest love, and intirest freindship. And so, wth my humble and hartie love and service, I rest yo^r L^p's faythfullest freind and servant, and loving kynsman,

MIDDESEX."

Chelsey, this 30th March, 1623.

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And in another letter, dated from Chelsea, on the third of May following, he says, "The fleet is redy to tacke the first wynde : God grant yow maye be as redy there. I praye yo^r L^p to be as sparinge in the matter of chardges as the honnor of the service will permitt, for never man was so putt to it to provyde mony as myselfe am at this instant. And I beseeche yo^r L^p to take especiall care to bringe as much of the portion in mony wth the fleete as is possible. I dare not wrighte how much it will concerne the Kinge."

Lord Clarendon, having stated the circumstances of his elevation, speaks thus of his fall. "He had gained so much credit with the King, being in truth a man of great parts, and notable dexterity, that, during the Duke's absence in Spain, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of money as were necessary for the defraying those unlimited expenses, and to correspond with him with that deference he had used to do, but had the courage to dispute his commands, and to appeal to the King, whose ear was always inclined to him, and in whom he begun to believe himself so far fastened that he should not stand in need of the future support of the favourite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to observe, as from others, who, caring for neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a promotion of a person of such an education, and whom they had long known for so much their inferior, though it could not be denied that he filled the places he held with great abilities."

"The Duke no sooner found the Parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the Prince's fast kindness, than he projected the ruin of this bold rival of his, of whom he saw clearly enough that the King had so good an opinion that it would not be in his sole power to crush him, as he had done others in the same, and in as high a station: and so he easily procured some leading men in the House of Commons to

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cause an impeachment, for several corruptions and misdemeanors, to be sent up to the House of Peers against that great minister, whom they had so lately known their equal in that house; which, besides their natural inclination to that sort of correction, disposed them with great alacrity to this prosecution. When it was first entered upon, and that the King clearly discerned it was contrived by the Duke, and that he had likewise prevailed with the Prince to be well pleased with it, his Majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing farther in it, and conjured them to use all their interest and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to the Crown that would not be easily healed. And when he found the Duke unmoved by all the considerations, and arguments, and commands, he had offered, he said, in great choler, "By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, and will find that in this fit of popularity you are making a rod with which you will be scourged yourself:" and turning, in some anger, to the Prince, told him he would live to have his belly full of parliament impeachments: and, "When I shall be dead, you will have too much cause to remember how much you have contributed to the weakening of the Crown by the two precedents you are now so fond of;" intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the Earl of Middlesex. But the Duke's power, supported by the Prince's countenance, was grown so great in the two houses, that it was in vain for the King to interpose; and so, notwithstanding so good a defence made by the Earl that he was absolved from any notorious crime by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the evidence, he was at last condemned to a great fine, to a long and strict imprisonment, and never to sit in parliament during his life; a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of parliament, and, in truth, not to be inflicted on any Peer but by attainder.

This severe sentence was passed on him in the winter of 1624.

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His fine, twenty thousand pounds, was paid, in great part, by transfer of estates to the crown; and it has been said that Buckingham descended to accept the Earl's house and grounds at Chelsea, which was his favourite residence, as a gift from the King; but Wilson, who is too often a slanderer, and from whom other writers have derived the tale, merely says that it was so reported; and Welden, who delighted in vilifying the Duke, does not mention it. Middlesex, after his enlargement, retired to his fine seat of Copt-Hall, in Essex, where, says Fuller, "he enjoyed himself contentedly, entertained his friends bountifully, his neighbours hospitably, and the poor charitably." There is good reason indeed to believe that no public man of his time was more beloved. He seems to have been blessed with a frankness and generosity of temper which neither mercantile selfishness nor ministerial caution could chill; and a liveliness of humour, not to say wit, adorned his conversation. One of his table jests has escaped oblivion. A question having arisen on the best means of prolonging human life, he said, "Let a man get himself appointed Lord Treasurer, for no one ever died in that office." He amused himself in the earlier part of his life with poetical composition, of which too a single specimen remains, which, at the worst, entitles him to the reputation of a smooth versifier. "The following mock-commendatory verses, by this nobleman," says the ingenious editor of Lord Orford's Noble Authors, "were prefixed in 1611 to the Travels, or Crudities, of Tom Coryat, "the whetstone of all the wits;" who must have been stimulated by a preposterous species of vanity to publish so many ludicrous lampoons upon himself, before his book."

"Great laude deserves the author of this worke,
Who saw the French, Dutch, Lombard, Jew, and Turke,
But speakes not any of their tongues as yet,
For who in five months can attaine to it?
Short was his time, although his booke be long,
Which shewes much wit, and memory more strong—

LIONEL CRANFIELD,

An yron memory—for who but he
Could glue together such a rhapsodie
Of pretious things, as towers, steeples, rocks,
Tombes, theaters, the gallows, bells, and stocks,
Mules, asses, arsenals, churches, gates, and townes,
The Alpine mountaines, cortezans, and Dutch clownes ?
What man before hath writ so punctually,
To his eternall fame, his journey's story ?
And as he is the first that I can finde,
So will he be the last of this rare kinde.
Me thinks, when on his booke I cast my eies,
I see a shop replete with merchandize ;
And how the owner, jealous of his fame,
With pretious matter garnisheth the same.
Many good parts he hath ; no man too much
Can them commend ; some few I'lle only touch.
He Greeke and Latin speakes with greater ease
Than hogs eate akornes, or tame pigeons pease.
His ferret eies doe plod so on his booke,
As makes his lookes worse then a testie cooke.
His tongue and feete are swifter then a flight,
Yet both are glad when day resignes to night.
He is not proude ; his nature softe and milde ;
His complements are long ; his lookes are wilde :
Patient enough, but, oh ! his action
Of great effect to move and stirre up passion.
Odcombe, be proud of thy odde Coryate,
Borne to be great, and gracious with the state.
How much I him well wish let this suffice.
His booke best shewes that he is deeply wise."

Explicit LIONEL CRANFIELD.

He was twice married : first to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shepherd, a merchant of London, who brought him three daughters ; Martha, wife of Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth ; Elizabeth, of Edmund Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave ; and Mary, who died unmarried. His second lady was Anne, daughter of James Bret, of Howby, in Leicester, by Anne his wife, daughter of Anthony Beaumont, and sister to Mary, wife of Sir George Villiers, the father and mother of the great George, Duke of Buckingham. By her he had two sons, and one daughter. James, his successor, who, by his wife Anne, daughter and coheir of

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Edward Bouchier, Earl of Bath, left an only daughter, who was married to John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater. Lionel, who succeeded to his brother James, and in whom, dying without issue, the titles became extinct. And Frances, who became therefore heir to his estates, and who married Richard Sackville, fifth Earl of Dorset, in whose eldest son and successor, Charles, the titles of Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex were revived in 1675, during the life of his father. As little is known of extinct peerages, I have given the genealogical account of this family rather more at large than usual.

The Earl of Middlesex survived his disgrace, if the suffering a punishment of enormous severity for misdemeanors so trivial that history has forborne to particularize them may be so called, for more than twenty years. He died on the sixth of August, 1645, and was buried in St. Michael's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, under a superb tomb of black and white marble, with a long inscription in Latin (of which very erroneous transcripts have been given in Dugdale's Baronage, and by Dart, in his history of the Abbey), alluding to his prosecution, and asserting his innocence.

ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL.

LORD Clarendon has drawn the public character of this admirable person with a knowledge so intimate, and an affection so sincere, and with such strength and exquisite sweetness of expression, that he who might be arrogant enough to add a single touch to so masterly a picture, could not but infringe on its truth, and weaken its effect. I shall therefore relate little more than the mere circumstances of his life, and the simple detail will be found to furnish one of the brightest ornaments on the page of English history.

He was the only son of Sir Henry Capel, by his first wife, Theodosia, sister to Henry Montague, Earl of Manchester. His father died, having scarcely reached the prime of life, and he was bred under the care of his grandfather, Sir Arthur Capel, of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, whom at length he succeeded in the inheritance of a vast fortune, which had been gained in trade, in the reign of Henry the seventh, by his ancestor Sir William Capel, a junior descendant from a respectable gentleman's family in Suffolk. He was at that time completing, at Clare Hall, in Cambridge, an education in which he afterwards proved that no pains had been spared, either by his friends or himself. His first entrance into life displayed, with a mild but incessant brightness, those qualities which, even in the best men, seldom appear during the fever of youth but in irregular and uncertain flashes. He sat down at his superb seat in Hertfordshire in the spirit of a prince and of a philosopher. His hospitality, and his charity to the poor, though scarcely equalled by those of any other English subject, were supported as much by his prudence as by his wealth and his inclination. He was distinguished by a quiet and unos-

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tentatious piety, and the excellent moral dispositions which belonged to his nature were polished to the last degree by that dignified generosity of conduct in which we find the true meaning of the word honour. It is scarcely then necessary to say that he was exemplary in all the domestic relations of life. His mind was powerful, and the clearness and acuteness of his judgment were equalled by the activity of his observation. He had read much, and thought more, and wrote with an elegant and forcible conciseness which bespoke at once the gentleman and the scholar. Such was Arthur Capel, when about twenty-five years old, and on the eve of the unhappy war between the King and the Parliament.

Thus qualified and recommended, he was chosen, without opposition, to represent the county of Hertford in the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, 1640. He immediately joined the popular party, which then comprised many real patriots, and, on the third day after he had taken his seat, delivered to the House a petition from the freeholders of his county, remonstrating against the abuses of the star chamber and high commission courts, ship-money, and other imposts of doubtful legality, which happened to be the first of the great number about that time presented on the same subjects. That Parliament was dissolved on the fifth of the succeeding month, and he was re-elected by his neighbours, with the same unanimity, to the next, which assembled on the third of November following, in which he heartily supported the measures which were at first proposed for the fair and wholesome circumscription of the power of the crown. In this spirit, like many other honest men at that time, he went one step too far, and unwarily suffered a spirit of vengeance against past errors to grow out of his dissatisfaction with the present. He voted for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and the keen sense which in cooler moments arose in his mind of the injustice of that measure, and of the execution that followed, which he fully acknowledged in the hour of his death, joined to a

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clear judgment that enough had been before done, or fully prepared, to secure to the nation the enjoyment of the utmost degree of liberty consistent with its peace and welfare, he quitted a party which he beheld already intoxicated with a first taste of blood, and intent only upon new sacrifices and new systems.

The accession to the royal cause of a commoner in every way of so high consideration was peculiarly gratifying to the King, who immediately acknowledged his obligation. On the sixth of August, 1641, Capel was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Capel, of Hadham, in Herts. He strove for some months in the House of Peers, with equal spirit and moderation, to stem the torrent; and, finding all his efforts ineffectual, took leave for ever of that assembly, with the solemn assertion that "the King's Majesty had granted so much for the ease and security of the kingdom, that they who asked more intended the disturbance of it." He now joined Charles at York, where, on the fifteenth June, 1642, he signed, with the other nobles and statesmen there, a declaration testifying their firm conviction that the King had no intention to make war on his Parliament, and engaged himself to raise one hundred horse for his Majesty's service and security. Early in the following year, the King sent him to Shrewsbury, with the commission of Lieutenant General of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, where he collected a formidable body of horse and foot, and afforded considerable relief to the brave garrison of Chester, by keeping the Parliament forces, under Sir William Brereton, employed at Namptwich. Charles was about that time devising, with much anxiety, some method of disposing of the Prince of Wales, so as to provide at once for the security of his person, and to allay the jealousies which had been entertained of a design to send him privately to the Queen, in France. To forward these views, he nominated a council for the direction of all matters relating to the Prince, consisting of six of his most trusty servants, of whom Lord Capel was one, and the one most trusted, and this appointment drew

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him from his military services. Upon receiving it he raised at his own expense a regiment of horse, and another of foot, for the Prince's standing guard, and had the King's commission to command them ; and the various duties of his new charge left him little room for the performance of any other during the four succeeding years. He was, however, one of the commissioners for the King at the treaty of Uxbridge.

In the summer of 1645, the Prince being then in the west of England, Capel, who, with Lord Colepeper, attended him there, had a considerable share in the direction of the campaign in those parts, where Waller and Cromwell commanded for the rebels ; but the King's affairs in that quarter having taken an unfavourable turn, owing rather to differences among his commanders than either to any signal defeat, or to disaffection in the country, the Prince was obliged to retire gradually towards the coast of Cornwall, and at length put to sea. He landed on the isle of Scilly, and, having remained there for six weeks, at the end of which he was joined by Capel, they sailed together to Jersey. The fatal battle of Naseby occurred just at this period, and the miserable King left Oxford privately, and fled towards Scotland. The Queen, who had been long anxious that her son should reside with her in France, now urged it with the most vehement importunity, but was resisted by Capel, whose gallant spirit could not endure the flight of the heir apparent while a ray of hope remained. At length the Prince himself determined to depart, and Capel remained in Jersey, waiting for orders from the King, of whose situation he was in a great measure ignorant, and who was now in fact a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, and prevented by them from communicating with his servants.

In 1647, while he resided in Jersey, the House of Commons passed a vote for the sale of his estates, to raise money for the service in Ireland, and he went to Paris to ask the Prince's permission to return home on that occasion. He came by the way of Zealand, and having compounded for his lands with the rebel

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government, retired to his mansion at Hadham, to meditate at leisure on the few chances which might yet exist of rendering service to the royal cause. The King, who had been lately sold by the Scots to his subjects, and who since that monstrous event had been capriciously hurried from place to place, was soon after brought to Hampton-court, where Cromwell, with some design of policy which has never been understood, permitted to him, for some time, the free access of his friends. Capel was among the first to seize the opportunity ; he waited on his Majesty there for the last time, and made that final engagement which he soon after sealed with his blood. “ To the Lord Capel,” says Clarendon, speaking of his conversation on that day with the King, “ his Majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears ; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him ; and that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England, and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other ; and, therefore, desired Capel to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promised to do effectually.”

Capel entered into these designs with the greatest warmth, and commenced immediately a correspondence with the leaders of the King’s party, if it deserved to be so called, in Scotland. He passed the latter part of the winter of 1647, and the following spring, in arranging with them the detail of their proposed invasion of England, and in preparing for a levy of forces in his own county of Hertford. He wrote to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, whom he had left in Jersey, to apprise him that all was ready for the projected enterprise, and to request him to recall the Prince to that Island, in order that his Royal Highness might be in readiness there to pass over into England, on receiving the news of those successes which he had fondly anticipated.

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In the latter end of May, 1648, he appeared in arms, and marched into Essex, where he was joined by Goring, Earl of Norwich, who had retreated thither from the superior force of Fairfax, in Kent. They shut themselves up, with many other brave officers, and about four thousand men, in the town of Colchester, under cover of such fortifications as the time allowed them to prepare, and awaited the approach of the Scottish army, or of Fairfax. They were presently attacked, and closely besieged by that general, and defended themselves with the utmost bravery and judgment. In the mean time, the Scots, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, entered England, and were totally defeated in Lancashire; an ill-concerted, and worse executed, rising in Surrey, under the Earl of Holland, was presently subdued; and the brave but worn out garrison of Colchester, finding that the King's affairs were thus on a sudden rendered hopeless, after having sustained a close siege from the twelfth of June, to the twenty-eighth of August, submitted on that day at discretion, in opposition to the commands and intreaties of Lord Capel. The enormities and the treachery which followed the surrender of Colchester have left a deep stain on the memory of Fairfax, which our historians have generally endeavoured to transfer to that of the bloody Ireton, by whom he had then the misfortune to be accompanied. Two of the bravest gentlemen who had served in the garrison, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, were brought before Fairfax, then presiding at a council of war, immediately after he had taken possession of the town, and having been told that, after so obstinate a resistance, it was necessary, for the example of others, that a summary punishment should be executed, were led into an adjoining yard, and there shot to death. This done, Fairfax and his officers went to the town-hall, where the rest of the prisoners were confined, and addressing himself to the Earl of Norwich and Lord Capel, told them, says Lord Clarendon, "that, having done that which the military justice required, all the lives of the rest were safe, and that they

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should be well treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct." "But," continues Clarendon, "the Lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding as to receive the visit of those who caused it with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton as cost him his life in a few months after."

Capel was sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where he remained till November. In the mean time, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Commons, to which he pleaded that Fairfax had not only promised that his life should be spared, but had also expressly acknowledged that promise in a letter to the House; upon which Fairfax, being called on by the Commons to explain his meaning in that letter, was base and cowardly enough to reply, that "his promise did not extend to any other but the military power; and that the prisoners were, notwithstanding, liable to trial and judgment by the civil power." He was now removed to the Tower of London, and, on the tenth of November, the house determined that he should be banished; but, on the first of February, voted that he should be "proceeded against for justice." On the evening of that day he escaped from the Tower, having let himself down from the wall by a rope, and waded, with the greatest difficulty, though aided by an uncommon stature, across the ditch. His friends who waited for him on the opposite bank, secreted him for a few days in the Temple, and then, for his better security, removed him to a house in Lambeth-marsh; but, in crossing the Thames thither, late in the evening, the boatman, who had by some means discovered him, gave notice to an officer in the neighbourhood, and he was seized soon after he had landed, and again conveyed to his prison. On the tenth of February, he was brought, with the Earl of Norwich, and others, before what was called the high court of justice, to be tried for

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high treason, where he behaved with the most undaunted firmness, asserting that, "in the condition of a soldier, and a prisoner of war, the lawyers and gown-men had nothing to do with him, and, therefore, he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him." He urged, however, Fairfax's engagement, and concluded by insisting that, "if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he ought to be tried by his peers, which was his right by the law of the land;" to which the arch regicide Bradshaw, who sat as president, amidst many other expressions of vulgar brutality, answered, that "he was tried before such judges as the Parliament had thought fit to appoint, and who had judged a better man than himself." The court, at length, finally decided, that Fairfax's declaration "that the Lord Capel was to have fair quarter for his life," should be interpreted to mean a freedom from any execution of the sword, but not any protection from the judicial proceedings of a civil court;" and three days after, he was again brought up, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

It was necessary that the sentence should be confirmed by a vote of Parliament, and he had so many friends in the House, that his acquittal there was confidently expected; especially when Cromwell, who had been of his acquaintance, commenced a long speech on the question, "whether the prayer of a petition for his life, presented by his Lady, should be granted?" with praises of his character, and large acknowledgments of kindness and respect for him. But the hypocrite at length concluded, "that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them that the question was now whether they would preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest: that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition

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soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides ; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition." These expressions produced the effect which the speaker intended ; the question was negatived by a majority of three or four voices ; and on the ninth of March 1648, the ignominious mode of execution at first prescribed having been previously altered, he was beheaded before the great gate of Westminster Hall, having made a speech of considerable length to those around him, in which it is difficult to say whether his piety, his heroism, or his loyalty, was the most to be admired.

Lord Clarendon, to whose character of this true nobleman I have above referred, says of him, " He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished ; whom Cromwell's own character well described, and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and revered, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty, and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort ; so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs ; and he was so much the more happy in that he thought himself most blessed in them. And yet the King's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him, and, having no other obligations to the Crown than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune, from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger ; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have

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excused him for some remission of his former warmth; but it made no other impression on him than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and with the same chearfulness to obey the first summons when he was called out, which was quickly after. In a word he was a man that, whoever shall after him deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel."

This nobleman, as has been here already hinted, had somewhat applied himself in the less busy time of his life to literary composition. His remains were printed in 1654, with the title of "Daily Observations, or Meditations Divine and Moral, written by a Person of Honour;" and republished some years after, with some account of his life. A few extracts from the aphorisms, which chiefly form that little volume, will serve to shew that the qualities of his head and of his heart were well matched with his greatness of soul.—"Biting jests, the more truth they carry with them, the broader scarred memory they leave behind them: many times they are like the wounds of chewed bullets, where the ruggedness causeth almost incurable hurts."—"In this tempestuous world no line holds the anchor of contentment so fast as a good conscience: man's favour is but a fine thread, that will scarcely hold one tug of a crafty tale-bearer: honour slips the noose when vulgar breath, wearied with constant virtue, is more affected to novelty: riches are gnawn asunder by the greedy teeth of devouring leviathans: but this cable is so strong and compact, that when force is offered to it the straining rather strengthens by uniting the parts more close."—"In heat of argument men are commonly like those that are tied back to back, close joined, and yet they cannot see one another."—"Those that behave themselves with an uneven and captious conversation towards others are but tell-tales of their own unpeaceable and miserable unsettled minds within themselves."—"The idle man

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is more perplexed what to do than the laborious in doing what he ought." I close these quotations with some regret.

Lord Capel married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Charles Moryson, of Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire, and had by her four sons; Arthur, his successor, who was created Earl of Essex; Henry, to whom an English Barony was granted by the title of Lord Capel of Tewkesbury, and who died without issue; Edward and Charles, who died unmarried: and four daughters; Mary married first to Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, heir apparent to William Earl of Hertford, and secondly, to Henry Somerset, Marquis of Worcester, afterwards Duke of Beaufort; Elizabeth to Charles Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon; Theodosia to Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, son and heir to the Earl of Clarendon; and Anne to John Strangways, of Melbury Sandford, in Dorsetshire.

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IT may seem strange, and more especially in times of the complexion of those in which we live, that the character of this remarkable person should have been suffered to find its own level in unbiassed judgement: that no flowery whig pen has yet attempted to varnish it with eulogies: nay, that even the fierceness of democracy has not furnished a single champion to bedaub it with coarse and plain-spoken praise: if Cromwell went too far in the pursuit of his plans of reform for the more delicate taste of the one, he certainly went quite far enough to gratify amply the appetite of the other. The cause of these omissions is twofold: first, the absence of any one positive virtue in the man, as well as of any form of that heroically splendid generosity, real or affected, which too frequently serves to lessen the deformity of wickedness; and, secondly, the embarrassment into which such panegyrists must have been thrown by contemplating the obsolete engine which he chiefly employed in his great work; for how could they who seek to overthrow the state by decrying Christianity itself celebrate him who made a semblance of fanatical zeal for that faith his stalking horse for the accomplishment of the same end? But this is not all. Even they who may be fairly supposed to have the largest and most general interest in whitewashing his fame have shrunk hopeless from the task. The anxiety, perhaps more amiable than prudent, of a descendant has of late put forth a large cento of quotations from abundance of writers, good and bad, well-known and obscure, under the title of "Memoirs," &c.; but they are urged merely in negative apology, and aim only at relieving his memory somewhat of the burthen of certain heavy charges, without making a single effort

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to adorn it by bringing forward any redeeming merit. We shall seek in vain for any other estimable qualities in Cromwell's character than judgement, courage, and decision, and these he perverted to the worst purposes.

He sprung from a very ancient and highly allied family of the county of Huntingdon, of which his father, Robert Cromwell, was a younger son, who relieved the scantiness of his patrimony by engaging in the trade of a brewer. His mother was a daughter of Sir Richard Stewart, a knight of the city of Ely, who had been before married to William Lynne, of Bassingbourne, Cambridgeshire, and of these persons he was born in Huntingdon on the twenty-fifth of April, 1599. He received his education in the free school of that town, and in Sidney College, Cambridge, which he is said to have left with small reputation for learning, and to have been soon after sent to London, and placed to study the law in Lincoln's Inn, in the books of which society however, as we are informed in the "Memoirs" above referred to, his name is not to be found; yet the fact has been so universally stated that it almost defies doubt, and we may strengthen those reports by adding to them a tradition hitherto unpublished which still prevails there, that he inhabited the chambers over the gateway into Chancery-lane. Such traditions seldom err; but not to dwell on that question, he certainly became a resident in London about the age of eighteen, and is recorded to have led there a life altogether dissolute, for which he could not plead in apology the usual warmth and vivacity of youth, for his nature was morose and saturnine, and he was subject to those reveries and fits of melancholy which usually occur to persons of that temperament. His marriage however, which happened before he was fully of age, suddenly reclaimed him, and he settled in his native town, from whence, after some years, he removed to the Isle of Ely, and to the possession of a decent estate, which had been bequeathed to him by a maternal uncle. This however, as well as his own little patrimony, he in great measure dissipated,

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and sought to repair the deficiency by engaging in agriculture in the neighbourhood of St. Ives, as is said, with little success.

He had been bred in the profession of the established faith, and practised it with apparent devotion till some years after his marriage, when he embraced puritanism, and presently became distinguished as a teacher of the first order ; nor is it improbable, as a reputation of that sort is always somewhat dearly purchased by persons of any property, that he might have squandered his fortune, as well as his time, in supporting the temporal interests of the schism which he had thus adopted. He received however some compensation by obtaining a seat, through the influence of his new brethren, in the short Parliament which met in 1628, and was chosen of the committee for affairs of religion, in which he distinguished himself by the bitterness and violence with which he denounced every trace of Popery which had been suffered to remain in the doctrine or discipline of our Church. After the dissolution of that Parliament, he returned again to the country, where for some years we have no intelligence of him, till he placed himself at the head of a party there against the Earl of Bedford's magnificent scheme of draining and embanking, which he opposed and obstructed with all the resolution and obstinacy which belonged to his character. At length the well-known John Hampden, who was his first cousin, convinced that he possessed the sort of talents and temper peculiarly necessary to the political support of himself and his faction, drew him from his retirement, and he was returned to the Long Parliament at its general election.

Hampden had judged rightly. Cromwell commenced his career in that assembly with a uniformity of virulent opposition and calumny towards all the acts of the Court and the ministry, as well as several of the ancient and established public institutions—a conduct which, however familiarized to us of later days, had till then been unknown in Parliament. The novelty of this, joined to the unusual coarseness and vehemence with which he

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commonly addressed the House, and to a show of simple frankness which looked like honesty, presently gained him the attention of all, and soon after the friendship and attachment of many. A small picture of him at that precise period, left to us by Sir Philip Warwick, though chiefly relating to exterior, yet not without reference to those facts, is too lively and glowing to be omitted in this place. "The first time," says Sir Philip, "that I ever took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly imagined myself a courtly young gentleman. I came one morning into the House, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily appareled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor: his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hatband: his stature was of good size: his sword stuck close to his side: his countenance swoln and reddish: his voice sharp and untunable; and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the Queen, for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the Council Table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened very much my reverence for that great Council, for he was much hearkened unto."

The truth is (and here again he was a political prototype) that his views at that time in assuming there the character of a seditious demagogue extended no further than to the retrieval of his desperate fortunes. He had neither distinct plan nor inclination for the public benefit. When pressed by the honest Warwick, who soon after became acquainted with him, and by some other members, to declare the objects of his exertions, particularly with regard to the Church, which he incessantly attacked, he

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answered, with less caution than was usual with him, "I know what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have." The success of his endeavours approached too tardily for his impatient spirit, and he became desperate. He formed at length the secret resolution to rest it on a single cast—the fate of that unhappily memorable remonstrance which was voted in the Commons, by a very small majority, on the fourteenth of November, 1641; for as soon as the House had risen, he told Lord Falkland that if the question had been otherwise decided, he would the next day have sold the remnant of his estate, and quitted the kingdom, never to return. The part which he had taken in the great debate of that day fixed his importance in the minds of the leading malcontents, and they now admitted him into their most private councils. He began to feel his own strength, and soon afterwards his superiority, and proved both by some successful efforts against certain persons among themselves whom he disliked.

The war broke forth in the following year, when he received a captain's commission from the Earl of Essex; went to Cambridge; and in that neighbourhood raised a troop of horse, with which he persecuted the University; and afterwards into Hertfordshire, where he seized the High Sheriff, with the King's proclamation in his pocket, declaring Essex and his army rebels, and brought him prisoner to London, where he received the thanks of the House of Commons. He marched presently into Suffolk, and surprised and captured the principal gentlemen of that and some adjacent counties, at Lowestoffe, where they had met to consider of the best means of serving the King's cause, besides possessing himself of abundance of arms, ammunition, and money. His force had now increased to one thousand horse, and he bore the title of colonel. His discipline, his courage, his activity, his minute attention to every circumstance which the service that he had now undertaken involved, astonished both armies. The spendthrift country gentleman, the fanatical teacher,

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the popular declaimer, had become a consummate soldier, as it were by intuition.

Such was the commencement of his military life, the progress of which is so well known that it would be impertinent to detail it here at any length. After distinguishing himself in several exploits in Lincolnshire and its borders, he was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Horse in that army, the nominal command of which the Parliament had given to the Earl of Manchester, while it invested Cromwell with all the active authority. He led it, in the spring of 1644, in a march of surprising rapidity, to meet the Scottish army which had agreed to aid the rebellion, and joined it in besieging York, the reduction of which was speedily followed by the battle of Marston Moor, where the signal defeat of the King's forces has been ascribed chiefly to his gallantry and skill. In the second battle of Newbury, which occurred in the same year, himself and his troops fought with uncommon desperation, and, in a remarkable charge on the royal guards, had nearly seized the King's person. While these events were passing, his friends were not less busily employed in London. His successes, his sagacity, and his intrigues, had combined to place him at the head of a faction in Parliament, which, in contradistinction from the comparatively innocent presbyterians, who had unwittingly acted as its pioneers in the rebellion, called itself "the Independents." The former party, many of whom had engaged in the mischief of the time from honest, however mistaken motives, observed, with well founded dread, its growing importance, and attempted to nip it in the bud. Manchester exhibited articles of accusation in the House of Peers against Cromwell, who repelled the blow by levelling a counter-charge at him in the Commons; but neither was in the end prosecuted, each party probably then doubting its own strength. The independents however became daily more formidable, and shortly after effectually triumphed in passing that measure, so fatal in its results to every prospect of peace and

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order, which obtained the name of "the self-denying Ordinance," because it prohibited the members of the two Houses of Parliament from holding any offices, civil or military. It is scarcely necessary to say that its aim was directed chiefly to the latter. Essex, Manchester, Sir William Waller, the Earl of Warwick, who was the Parliament Admiral, and indeed all the commanders of any note under the original scheme of the rebellion, were thus at a stroke cashiered; while Cromwell, and such of his peculiar confidants as were members, after having received, for form's sake, some occasional individual dispensations, were at length specially excepted from the operation of the act. The army was in this manner, to use the phrase of the time, new-modelled; Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed Commander-in-Chief; and Cromwell, raised to the rank of his Lieutenant-General, was in fact placed at its head.

The almost uninterrupted tide of success which now attended his enterprises is scarcely to be paralleled in military history. In twelve months' almost incessant fighting he met with but two insignificant checks. The succeeding battle of Naseby, so fatally decisive of the King's very hopes, the critical hour for which was adopted by Fairfax at his suggestion, crowned his fame. He availed himself with equal prudence and gallantry of the many advantages which that victory had thrown in his way, and at length returned to the Parliament, where the two parties of which it was composed, by the one of which he was now hated, and by the other already distrusted, loaded him with adulation and wealth; himself, with equal sincerity, ascribing his endeavours wholly to his devotion towards them, and his successes to the special favour of providence to a righteous cause. The unfortunate Charles now threw himself into the hands of the Scots, who sold him to his rebel Parliament, and it was presently argued in that body that, as the war must be in some way concluded by that event, it would be advisable to relieve the people by disbanding at least a part of the army, of which they had now, with ample

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reason, become jealous. This motion, so adverse to his views, Cromwell not only parried with exquisite address, but contrived to turn it to his advantage; for, while he intrigued successfully to confine the reduction to certain regiments whose affection to himself he suspected, he conveyed insinuations to the rest of the army of the ingratitude of the Parliament towards them, and of the proof of his affection for them which his successful interference in their favour had manifested. At this precise juncture, while each party was acutely, and perhaps equally, sensible of its critical position, the Parliament, which terror had now inspired with a true desire to restore some sort of order, meditating the mockery of treaties with their captive King, and the independents little less agitated by their fears for their interests and even personal safety, than by their abhorrence of monarchy under any modifications; Cromwell boldly turned the scale, and decided the fate of the kingdom—He seized the person of Charles; and from that moment, the Parliament, as well as the King, was in the power of the army.

The subtlety of his conduct at this critical epoch was equalled only by the treachery of his intentions. The unhappy Prince was treated with profound reverence, and actually submitted to be persuaded that Cromwell meant to compose all differences, and to restore him on favourable conditions to his throne. To complete this deception, the army was made to send an address to the Parliament, declaring their determination to make common cause with the King, and their opinion that all endeavours to settle the nation would be fruitless while he was debarred of his just rights; Cromwell, in the same hour, publicly professing that his earnest attachment to the ascendancy and privileges of Parliament had rendered him unpopular with the military. His agents were now directed to sift the disposition of the populace of the city, which was found to incline to the army. The Houses were besieged by crowds, and a number of young ruffians, calling themselves apprentices, forced their way into the Commons, which they

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actually compelled to pass certain votes in their presence. In the mean time the army had set up a sort of Parliament for the management of its own affairs, composed of a committee of troopers, and another of officers, formally elected by the several regiments, to whom they gave the name of agitators; and Cromwell, who had connived at this, with the view of over-awing the King and the Parliament, affected to consider them as mutinous assemblies, and to expect dreadful consequences from the alledged insubordination, which he insinuated that he durst not endeavour to subdue by any summary measures. These persons presently resolved, and publicly declared that the army would not submit to be disbanded, and dispatched a sturdy remonstrance to the Parliament. Cromwell now proceeded to purge, as it was called, the House of Commons; eleven of its leading presbyterian members, all original instigators of the rebellion, were impeached by himself, and those of his creatures who had seats, and fled for their lives. The two Speakers sought refuge with the army, which was then advancing slowly towards London, and which, arriving there a few days after, replaced them, and marched triumphantly through the city, led by Fairfax, who had sunk gradually into a passive instrument in the hands of his Lieutenant-General.

The King, who had been for sometime a prisoner at large, now withdrew himself privately, with what view or hope has never been clearly ascertained, from Hampton Court, and was persuaded, treacherously, or most imprudently, by those who attended him, to put himself into the power of the rebel governor of the Isle of Wight. Here, in the midst of a treaty, if it deserved to be so called, with the commissioners from the Parliament, his person was again suddenly seized in the dead of night by a party of soldiers, and closely imprisoned. Five days after, Cromwell, to whom it was still convenient to employ the name of a Parliament, sent one of his favourite officers, at the head of a strong guard, into the House of Commons, and made prisoners at once of more than forty members who were unfit for his purposes and

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on the following day himself appeared in the House, and received the thanks of those who remained for his great and faithful services. They now proceeded without delay to attain the King of high treason, and on the Lords rejecting their bill, resolved that their consent was unnecessary, and so it passed in the name of the Commons of England only. A few, selected from the many instances of detestable hypocrisy and affected fanaticism displayed by Cromwell on this memorable occasion, must serve as specimens of that extravagant inclination to falsehood and deception, which was certainly the paramount feature of his nature, and is proved to have marked the whole of his public conduct. When this proceeding against the King was first proposed in the House of Commons, he rose, with great apparent agitation, and said that "if any man had moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but, since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray to God to bless their councils, though he was not on the sudden prepared to advise them." And in a subsequent debate, he told them that "while he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the King to his pristine majesty, his tongue clove to the roof of his mouth, so that he could not speak another word; which he took as a return to his prayer, and so that God had rejected him from being King." And when an officer in the service of the States General was dispatched to him after the trial, with blanks, testified by that government to be genuine, and signed by Charles, and by the Prince of Wales, and proposed to him to insert any conditions on which the King's life might be spared, he left the messenger, and returning after some time, answered that he had been with the council of officers, "seeking God," and that they had all resolved that the King must die. Burnet too, whose report may be fully trusted on this occasion, assures us that Cromwell used every possible argument to persuade the Scottish Commissioners (for they who had so lately betrayed him to his blood-thirsty enemies now sent to

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intercede for him) that the King ought to be put to death ; and such was doubtless his fixed design when he first made himself master of the royal person.

From the moment of the King's murder Cromwell may be said to have reigned in England. The House of Commons however, such as he had left it, affected to form a government ; voted the Peers useless and dangerous ; set up a republican system, under the title of a commonwealth ; and placed the executive power in the hands of certain persons, who were called a Council of State. Cromwell for a while temporised. He accepted, with all apparent deference, the command of an army sent to enforce the submission of Ireland ; and on his return, after a short repose at Whitehall, where he now took up his residence, marched to chastise the Scots, who had received among them their new King. Here he gained the battles of Dunbar and Fife, while his subordinate commanders were uniformly successful in other parts of the country ; and at length, by a series of the most masterly military dispositions, forced the main Scottish army, with the King at their head, into England ; drove them before him to Worcester ; and compelled them to try the fate of that well-known desperate action, the event of which seemed to have extinguished all hope in the loyal party. His letter, communicating the news of this signal victory to the Parliament which he was then meditating to annihilate, is still extant, and the concluding lines seem worthy of insertion here, not only as a further illustration of his detestable cant and hypocrisy, but as a sample of the style which he used, and the sentiments which he affected on all occasions, public and private.

——“ The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for ought I know, a crowning mercy. Surely if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the Parliament to do the will of him who hath done his will for it, and for the nation—whose good

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pleasure is to establish the nation, and change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work. I am bold humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting his honour who hath wrought so great salvation, and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen people; but that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered, and blessed, and witnessed, so humble and faithful that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you as a thankful return to our glorious God. This shall be the prayer of

Your most humble and obedient servant,

O. CROMWELL."

It is ridiculously observable, that in the very moment that he was cajoling these people about a "crowning mercy," which, if not yet arrived, was surely to come, he was full fraught with the idea of placing the Crown of these kingdoms on his own head. He had scarcely returned from Worcester, when, as Whitelock informs us, at a meeting of certain members of the Commons, and some principal officers of the army, at the Speaker's house, summoned by Cromwell to deliberate on some plan for the permanent settlement of the nation, to be presented to the Parliament, Whitelock, who knew his mind, asked whether it should be "by way of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of Monarchy?" Cromwell took the hint, and replied, "My Lord Commissioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning that we should consider whether a republic or a mixt monarchical government will be best to be settled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power should be placed?" Desborough and Whalley, two of the regicides, declared for a strict republic; and Sir Thomas Widdrington, a presbyterian member of the Commons, for a mixt monarchy, and unluckily

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added,—to be placed, on terms, in one of the late King's sons ; on which Cromwell calmly observed—" that will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty ; but really I think, if it may be done with safety, and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and Christians, that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it would be very effectual." The debate, in which Cromwell meant no more, for the time, than to sound the inclination of the parties, lasted long, but, as might be expected, ended in no determination.

The same author reports also a subsequent private conversation between Cromwell and himself on the same subject, in which the one seems to have disclosed his views without reserve, and the other to have argued against them with equal freedom, and the consequence of this contest was the disposal of Whitelock soon after in a foreign embassy. Cromwell, in the mean time, formed his resolution, and the mode of executing it, with cool intrepidity. The Commons, sensible of their own impotence, had submitted, at his dictation, to limit their sitting to the end of two years. That date had nearly expired ; and of all imaginable contingencies none could have been more unfavourable to his hopes than a recurrence to the suffrages of the people. He suddenly assembled therefore a council of such of the ministers and military as he thought fit to trust on so momentous an occasion ; bewailed that weakness in the Parliament of which himself had been the author ; represented the danger with which it threatened the nation ; and, with many pious exclamations, meekly besought their advice. A great majority, which had come fully prepared, proposed an immediate dissolution, and a message was sent to the Commons without delay, recommending to them to adopt that resolution by a vote of their own. They demurred ; when Cromwell, putting himself instantly at the head of a party of soldiers, entered the House, and, to use a phrase worthy of the action, turned them out, with circumstances too well known to all England to need repetition. Thus this dastardly remnant of an assembly which

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had for several years deluged the land in blood, and perpetrated in effect the murder of its lawful sovereign for having calmly ventured within its proud walls to demand the persons of five of its members who stood charged with high treason, submitted, without a remonstrance, then or after, to be crushed in a moment by the single act of an individual of its own body ; a monster of its own creation.

He now summoned a Parliament, for so it was called, not only invented but elected by himself ; dispatched letters missive to certain chosen persons, very insignificant either on the score of talent or property, requiring them to meet and deliberate, as representatives of their respective counties. By this means he gained time to make his final arrangements, as well as the advantage, such as it was, of obtaining a recognition of his authority by an assembly bearing the name of a Parliament, which it amply gave by voting on the thirteenth of December, 1653, five months after its birth, that its further continuance “ would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to resign their powers to the Lord General,” as they did without delay. Cromwell and his military Council now resolved that the government of the three Kingdoms should be in a Lord Protector, for life ; a Council of State, which was so constituted as to be wholly at his disposal ; and a triennial Parliament, on a new and convenient model ; and he immediately assumed the office of Lord Protector.

He was now to maintain himself on the pre-eminence to which he had thus attained. He knew the English character, and sought to accommodate his government to its habits and its foibles, rather than to the actual interests of the country. He knew that it preferred greatness, and what is called national wealth, to the solid comfort to be derived from the cultivation of internal advantages. He felt too his own necessity to divert its attention from the contemplation of recent events. He commenced therefore the execution of his counterfeit reign with a defiance, declared

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or implied, to nearly all the powers of Europe ; assailed the Dutch in a furious and most successful maritime war ; and had no sooner compelled them to a treaty, equally humiliating and expensive, than he prepared to attack Spain, and answered the remonstrances of the ambassador from Madrid, by demanding the abolition of the Inquisition in all his Master's dominions, and the unqualified admission of the English to a free trade in the Spanish West Indies. These being of course refused, he dispatched a fleet and army thither, and the island of Jamaica is a permanent fruit of that enterprize. At home, little remained to be done. The royalists were sunk in complete despondency ; the mass of the people were dazzled by his boldness and his success ; the religionists of all descriptions, even of the lately persecuted Church of England, were unmolested ; he now confined his pious cares to himself, except in a single instance—the dissolution in a moment, by one of his colonels, of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland. In the forty-two Chapters which compose the sacred record of his new constitution, not a word is to be found of doctrine, discipline, worship, churches, synods, or ministers. It mentions Christianity generally, and concedes a universal toleration.

A competent idea of his opinion of his first Parliament may be formed on two of his regulations which distinguished its commencement—the previous trial of elections by his own Council of State ; and his imposition after it had met, in consequence of its having ventured into some discussion on the new government, of a qualifying test to be subscribed by each individual member. It proved however somewhat uncompliant, and he dissolved it, in an intemperate speech, after it had sat for five months. By this act he incurred, for the first time, a certain portion of unpopularity with his own party, which he extended to others by the cruel vengeance which he took on several persons who had risen in the west in a hopeless attempt for the royal cause. He fortified himself against the effects of these disgusts by increased kindness

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to the army and navy, and by new levies of troops to a formidable amount, and thus entrenched, assumed an arbitrary rule hitherto unknown in Europe. He gave the custody of the Great Seal to two military officers ; imprisoned barristers because they had pleaded for persons whom he disliked ; and decided several causes at law by his own special authority. When he thought fit in 1656 to summon his second Parliament, he previously issued " a commission for inspection of Charters," of which his own solicitor was chairman, and thus in great measure enabled himself to disfranchise, or new model, those boroughs in which it was probable that his will might be opposed. This device however not proving fully sufficient, when the day of meeting arrived, a guard of soldiers was found at the doors of the House, and an officer, who presented to those members whose names appeared in a list which he held in his hand, tickets, certifying that they had been " approved by his Highness's Council," and to those who were not provided with such tickets no admission was granted.

It is not strange that an assembly thus formed should have determined to beseech Cromwell to assume the title of King. He answered doubtfully ; desired time " to seek God," and that they would appoint a committee to confer with him on a question so weighty, and the conference was held accordingly. This impending disgrace however to the nation was cut short by the jealousy of some of the principal officers of the army, who unexpectedly petitioned the House to discourage the idea ; and Cromwell, at a second meeting, in which, as Ludlow informs us, he had resolved to signify his acceptance of the title, was thus forced to refuse it, which he did, in a speech fraught with the grossest deception, and most profound hypocrisy. He now, however, obtained all but the name ; for, in compliance with a second petition from the House, he consented to accept a renewal of his office of Protector ; to be invested with more than regal powers ; and to erect a House of Peers of his own creation. He was presently after solemnly inaugurated, with all the ceremonies,

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one only excepted, of the coronation of our Kings. The Commons having completed for him this great work, now adjourned, and some signal naval successes against the Spaniards served to maintain the spirits and good humour of the astonished nation till the meeting of the newly constructed Parliament, which Cromwell opened with all the accustomed royal forms. Not many days had passed, when a strife arose between the two spurious Houses, so bitter and disgraceful that he flew to them in a rage beyond even his power of dissembling, and pronounced their dissolution. He is even said to have concluded the few furious sentences which he addressed to them with the words, "by the living God I must and do dissolve you."

From this period the bodily health, as well as the public character, of Cromwell gradually declined. He became timid and irresolute. Some plots were discovered against his life, and he imagined others which had no existence. A well known tract, recommending the assassination of tyrants, and entitled "Killing no Murther," is said to have cut him to the heart. His cruelty, according to the common unhappy order of nature, increased with his fears. The last public acts of his life were the erection of one more of those infamous tribunals which were nicknamed High Courts of Justice, and the sacrifice, according to its sentence, of many persons, most of them of great worth, who had engaged in a design to restore the King, scarcely a single active step towards the accomplishment of which seems to have been taken. Cromwell died of a tertian ague on the third of September, 1658.

He married Elizabeth, a natural daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Felsted, in Essex, who for some years survived him, and had by her three sons, and four daughters. Richard, his insignificant successor in the office of Protector; Henry, to whom he gave the government of Ireland; and James, who died an infant. Bridget, married first to Henry Ireton, then to Charles Fleetwood, both eminent in the rebel army; Elizabeth, wife of John Clay-

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poole, of Norborough, in the county of Northampton; Mary, married to Thomas Belasyse, Viscount Falconberg; and Frances, wife, first, of Robert Rich, grandson to Robert, Earl of Warwick; secondly of Sir John Russell of Chippenham, in Wilts. It has been said that he had two other children. If so, they died in their infancy.



LUCY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

THIS Lady, equally remarkable for beauty, talents, and singularities, was the second and youngest daughter of Henry Percy ninth Earl of Northumberland, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his name. She was born in 1600, and had scarcely reached her fifth year when her father, whom undeserved ill-fortune seems to have prevented from shining among the first great characters of his time, was charged with being accessary, or at least privy, to the Gunpowder Plot; enormously fined; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for life, where indeed he remained for nineteen years. An illustrious family, thus deprived of its protector, perhaps wisely sought security in seclusion, and it was probably amidst the mountains and forests of her mighty ancestors that Lucy acquired the activity and independence, the masculine and haughty sentiments and prejudices, by which she was always distinguished. On the sixth of November, 1617, she was married to James, Lord Hay, afterwards created Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, a young Scotsman, whom King James, with the extravagancy which usually marked his partialities, had loaded with favours. The legends of Asiatic magnificence, and of Roman luxury, fall short of the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the habits of this nobleman's life. Having already imbibed much of the romantic in rural retirement, such a union presented to her a new series of illusions of a nature wholly opposite, and, together with the idolatry lavished on her beauty by a splendid Court, contributed to form a character at once admired, disliked, feared, little understood by any, and perhaps least of all by herself.

This marriage, which had been made by the King, and which he honoured by his presence, was highly offensive to her father, but in the end procured his liberation. Wilson, in his *Life of James the first*, tells us that “the younger daughter, Lucy, a lady of incomparable beauty, solemnized in the poems of the most exquisite wits of her time, married the Lord Hayes, now made Viscount Doncaster, against her father’s will, (who aimed at higher extractions;) which the old Earl’s stubborn spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and Doncaster, whose affection was above money, setting only a valuation upon his much admired bride, strove to make himself meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his father-in-law that he got his release: but the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a release from his hand; so that when he had his liberty he restrained himself, and with importunity was wrought upon, by such as knew the distempers of his body might best qualify those of his mind, to make a journey to the Bath, which was one special motive to accept of his son-in-law’s respects.” The Earl’s enlargement, however, did not take place for four years after his daughter’s marriage.

In the following reign she turned her attention to politics; despised the society of her own sex; studied systems of government, intrigued in matters of state, actually obtained considerable influence, and exercised it with adroitness and security. Lord Clarendon, to whose very gravity the interference of a woman, and such a woman, must have been sufficiently offensive, occasionally mentions her, and always unfavourably. Speaking of Lord Holland’s transactions with the disaffected party, after his shameful abandonment of the King at York in the autumn of 1641, and of the mischievous intelligence with which they were treacherously supplied by that nobleman, he concludes,—“and he added to all this whatever information he had received by the Lady Carlisle of words or actions spoken or done by the Queen, which might increase their jealousy or malice to her Majesty.”

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On the discovery probably of this, or some such correspondence, she lost the Queen's favour ; for he tells us elsewhere, in treating of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, after his flight to Holland, that " the Countess of Carlisle, who was now much trusted by the citizens, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen," had engaged herself in a negotiation between the Prince and the city, and had given his Royal Highness her advice as to his conduct towards the leading men there. Lord Clarendon however soon after acknowledges that she had " pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the Earl of Holland ;" but takes care to add, in the same sentence, that the Lord Percy, her brother, had been " a very importunate solicitor to the Prince for the repayment of that sum," and that " she had committed faults enough towards the King and Queen."

All this, it is true, might have been reasonably expected from any woman of a lively and busy cast of mind ; but that she should have gained an influence over the wise, severe, and haughty Strafford, would, if supported but by mean evidence, be utterly incredible. Of this, which is more than once alluded to by historical writers, we have a full proof in a letter of the tenth of January, 1636, from her sister, Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester, to her Lord, which may be found in the Sidney Papers. " I shall be in much hope," writes the Countess, " that you will succeed the Deputy of Ireland," (Strafford) " whom they saie will only stay the accomplishment of what he has undertaken ; but I fear that Lady Carlisle, who has more power with him than any creatur, will do nothing for our good." This fact might be corroborated too by several letters from Lady Carlisle herself, two of which, one to the Earl of Leicester, the other to his Countess, from the same collection, I will insert here ; not however so much for that purpose, as to shew her vehement inclination to politics, and as specimens of her epistolary style and method. The names are written in cypher in the originals, and

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afterwards decyphered, I suppose by Collins, the editor of the Papers, and it may be observed that she always mentions herself in the third person.

My Lord,

A Sunday last the King cald Hamilton, and Lord Deputy, and commanded them to be friends, saying thaye wayr persons that he meant to trust with most of his busnise, and therefore that thaye must agree. Hamilton mayd great professions that he had never spoken to the disadvantage of Lord Deputy, and calld the King to witnes it, which he did, though Lady Carlisle knowse he hase indeavourd all that's posible to keepe the Deputy from being Lo. Treasurer. The Queene has mutche lamented this losse of the Spaniards, which the French Ambassador takes very ill. Sir Henry Vane has behaved himself verie well in H. Percy's busnise, and hase spoken verie boldly to the King; but yet it cannot be overcome, for Hamilton dosse hugly opose it, and his power is sartanely verie great; but the Queene is confident it will be donne, which I fear. Three days agoe my brother Northumberland wase calld to the Junto, and yesterdaye my Lord Hamilton, and the Deputye. There is ane other littell Junto that is mutch apprehended hear, of which there is but three; the Bishop, and Hamilton, and Deputye. They have meet twise, and the world is full of guesses for the ocaion of it. My Lord, it is a great pain to me that you have yet no more sartanty of my sister's health, and I fear your Lordship gives me your greatest hopes. My best consolation is that you saye she is cheerfull, for that is not her humor of great indispositione, without the being with your Lordship make that change. I beseetch you lett me again hear from your Lordship the nexst weeke, for tell I am free from thes feares I cane thinke of nothing ells, which I am confident will make you love me, and believe me more

17 Oct. 1639.

Your's, &c.

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

Dear Sister,

I am glad that you wish a friendship between my Lord of Leicester and Deputy, for I am confident it will be an essay worke, and, if Lady Carlisle be not much deceived, for the service of Leicester, which above all things at the present I thinke of. Northumberland is better with the Deputy then he has binne. Those two Lords have made a littell expostulatione, and Northumberland more satisfied by mutche, and is now cald to all the greatest secrets of the King, which are now only in the trust of Canterbury, Deputy, and Hamilton. Conway will be General of the Horse, and Counselor, which is absolutely the Deputy's act. I desire you not to take notice of it to any body. The Deputy does absolutely govern Canterbury, and sartanly may persuade him to anything; and Lady Carlisle is verie confident that she can engage the Deputy as far as you please in any betwixt Canterbury and E. of Leicester. I was desired by my Lord Deputy to send some of your servants to buy him 2 beds, one of crimson velvet, and the other of watched damaske; the crimsone, with silke fringe, and the other with gold and silver; but I, that day say anything to you, will let you knowe that by giving this command to one of your servants you will do him a huge favor. I did expect to have found the price of my particler in the trunke, but not finding it, I beseeche you send it by the next, and let me know whether I shall paye the money to Jone Illoyts, or send it to France. I have not binne well this weeke, and therfor excuse my strange writing. If you have found anything for a New year's Gift send me word by the next; and let my Lady Spencer knowe that my indispositione kept me from writing to her. My Lord of Holland asks your pardon for not writing, being at Theobalds with the King.

Your's &c.

19 of December, 1639.

We will take leave here of her political speculations, observing only, in addition, that they seem to have been built on no fixed

LUCY PERCY,

principles. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, accuses her, the friend, and alledged confidant, of Strafford, of having given notice to Pym of the King's coming to the House of Commons to demand the five members, in order that they might have time to absent themselves. And St. Evremond, in the spirit of true French politeness, founding a compliment on her duplicity, tells us that—"from the inmost recesses of Whitehall, she had a great hand in animating the faction at Westminster." It is said that Monk obtained his first commission for military service in England through her recommendation, at the commencement of the civil war.

If her talents, whatever they might have been, attracted the notice and favour of one class of men, her beauty, not to mention her vanity, in which she seems to have been by no means deficient, commanded the positive worship of another. "Solemnized indeed she was," to use again the words of Arthur Wilson, "in the poems of the most exquisite wits of the time." At the head of these was Waller, the bard of the Sidneys, her relations, from the numerous eulogies dedicated to her by whose muse I will select the most agreeable.

The Country to my Lady of Carlisle.

Madam, of all the sacred Muse inspir'd,
Orpheus alone could with the Woods comply.
Their rude inhabitants his song admir'd,
And nature's self, in those that could not lye.
Your beauty next our solitude invades,
And warms us, shining through the thickest shades.

Nor ought the tribute which the wond'ring court
Pays your fair eyes prevail with you to scorn
The answer, and consent to that report
Which, echo like, the country does return.
Mirrors are taught to flatter, but our springs
Present th' impartial images of things.

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

A rural judge dispos'd of beauty's prize :
A simple shepherd was preferr'd to Jove :
Down to the Mountains, from the partial skies,
Came Juno, Pallas, and the Queen of love,
To plead for that which was so justly given
To the bright Carlisle of the Court of heav'n.

Carlisle ! a name which all our woods are taught
Loud as their Amaryllis to resound.
Carlisle ! a name which on the bark is wrought
Of every tree that's worthy of the wound.
From Phœbus' rage our shadows and our streams
May guard us better than from Carlisle's beams.

Voiture too, the Waller of France, in which country she resided during her husband's embassy thither, has addressed to her some highly complimentary verses. It is remarkable that her poets have confined themselves almost wholly to the celebration of her personal charms, seldom adverting to the powers of her mind, and never to her virtues ; this however furnishes scarcely a negative evidence against her moral character. Such a person must have had abundance of enemies, and yet we meet with no direct censure on her conduct as a woman, except in the memoirs, already quoted, of Sir Philip Warwick, who, it must be confessed, expresses himself of her pretty freely. He calls her " that busy stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle, who had now changed her gallant, from Strafford to Pym, and was become such a she-saint that she frequented their sermons, and took notes, &c." If Warwick intended to apply the word " gallant" in its most usual sense, we shall have less cause to wonder at the strictness of her intimacies, either with royalists or rebels.

Nor were her panegyrics confined to verse. Sir Toby Matthews, whose eccentricities have found their way into all the memoirs of the reigns of James and Charles the first, drew her character with an intenseness of labour, and an extravagancy and obscurity of thought and expression, which must discourage all hope, could any one be found with such a hope, to discover a parallel. This

singular production lay dormant till 1660, the last year of Lady Carlisle's life, when it appeared, occupying no less than ten octavo pages, in a volume of Letters of eminent persons, collected by Matthews, and edited by Dr. Donne, who prefixed to it a dedication to the Countess, in which he seems to have striven to tear the palm of absurdity from the brow of his author. "But, Madam," concludes Donne (having uttered everything that common sense, and moderate taste, would have rejected, on the subject of epistolary correspondence, particularly of the dead with the living, and, above all, of Sir Toby Matthews with his surviving friends in England, and all for the sake of introducing a poor final conceit) "that which would concern us more than all this is a hope that by a letter from him we should hear that your Ladyship were to favour us for many years to come with your presence here; whose absence would make such a chasm in our Galaxy, that it would grieve us less to see all our saints ascend into the heavens than that the earth should lose so much of her splendor, beauty, and goodness." Among the most intelligible passages of Matthews's long eulogium, the whole of which, as Lord Orford justly observes, might fairly pass as satire, are the following.—"She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature—Her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous—She has as much sense and gratitude for the actions of friendship as so extreme a beauty will give her leave to entertain—She more willingly allows of the conversation of men than of women; yet when she is amongst her own sex, her discourse is of fashions and dressings, which she hath ever so perfect upon herself as she likewise teaches it by seeing her—She hath too great a heart to have naturally any strong inclination to others—She affects particular so much that she dislikes general courtesies; and you may fear to be less valued by obliging her—She believeth nothing to be worthy her consideration but her own imaginations: those gallant fancies keep her in satisfaction when she is alone; when she will

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

find something worthy of her liking, since in the world she cannot find anything worthy of her loving—She hath a grace and facility, and I might well say a felicity, in her expressions, since they are certain and always in the fewest words—She is in disposition inclined to be choleric, which she suppresses, not perhaps in consideration of the persons who occasion it, but upon a belief that it is unhandsome towards herself—She affects extremes, because she cannot suffer any condition but of plenty and glory.” The reader doubtless will be satisfied with the extent of these extracts.

The Countess of Carlisle died in November, 1660, having survived her husband, by whom she had no children, for twenty-four years. She was buried, near her father, at Petworth, in Sussex.

MONTAGU BERTIE,

SECOND EARL OF LINDSEY.

A WRITER too frequently quoted, who sometimes sacrificed truth to what he esteemed brilliancy of thought and expression, has left us many particulars of this nobleman's character, on the authenticity of which we may depend, because they were published within two years after his death, while the recollection of him was so warm in the hearts both of his friends and enemies, that the subject may be said to have been almost living to caution the author against misrepresentation. Lloyd tells us that "his converse gave the world a singular pattern of harmless and inoffensive mirth; of a nobleness not made up of fine clothes and courtship; a sweetness and familiarity that at once gained love, and preserved respect; a grandeur and nobility safe in its own worth, not needing to maintain itself by a jealous and morose distance; the confirmed goodness of his youth not only guarding his mind from the temptation of vice, but securing his fame too from the very suspicion of it, so outstripping in wisdom, temperance, and fortitude, not only what others did but even what they wrote, being as good in reality as in pretence; to which he added this unusual glory—that, since there was but a small partition between the Kings of Judah's beds and the altar, through which they said David had a secret passage (arguing the nearness there should be between religion and honour) and that the Cross was an ornament to the Crown, and much more to the Coronet, he satisfied not himself with the bare exercise of virtue, but he sublimated it, and made it grace." Lloyd adds, in more words than it is convenient here to use, that he was educated with great care, and that he prosecuted his tour of the continent with a contempt

MONTAGU BERTIE,

of the inconveniences then incident to it, and a spirit of observation and enquiry, uncommon in young men of his rank; and that "the result of these and other advantages, was a competent skill in arts, especially philosophy, mathematics, physic, and the two parts belonging to it, chirurgery and botanism."

He was born in the year 1608, the eldest son of that admirable example of honour, loyalty and courage, Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who was in 1626 created Earl of Lindsey, by Elizabeth, only child of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton. Having served as a volunteer in two or three campaigns in Flanders, which was then esteemed the conclusion almost necessary of a nobleman's education, he returned to the Court, where his father was highly esteemed, and was appointed a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and soon after Captain of the King's Life Guard. In those capacities he attended Charles on his journey into Scotland in 1639, and seems to have gained at that time not only the favour but the cordial friendship of that Prince, from whose person he was for several years after that period never, but in one instance, for many days together absent. At the commencement of the rebellion he was named one of the Commissioners of Array, and at the battle of Edgehill, in which his father was General in Chief of the army, under the King, who was present, was stationed, at the head of the guards, next to the General's regiment. It is well known that the fortune of that day, in which the King had at first the advantage, was marred by the absence of the horse, which, under the command of Prince Rupert, had engaged in an imprudent pursuit. In the unfortunate interval before their return the reserve of the rebels, under Sir William Balfour, made a furious attack on the King's infantry, especially in the quarter where the General stood, for he was on foot, and he fell into their hands, after the most heroic resistance, severely, and as it proved, fatally wounded. Montagu, then Lord Willoughby, under the impulse of a filial love which for the time suspended all reflection, rushed, almost alone,

SECOND EARL OF LINDSEY.

amidst the captors, and was overpowered by their numbers, while desperately fighting his way towards his father, who on the following day, the twenty-fourth of October, 1642, died in his arms, leaving him Earl of Lindsey, and a prisoner in the hands of the rebels.

Amidst the confusion, and multiplicity of cares, necessarily following such an action, the King's almost first attention seems to have been directed to him. A trumpet was dispatched to the enemy, with proposals for his release, and with the following letter to himself.

Lindsey,

You cannot be more sensible, as I believe, of your father's loss than myself; his death confirming the estimation I had of him. As for yourself, the double suffering you have had for my sake, both in your father's person and your own, puts upon me the stricter obligation, not only to restore you to your liberty, now unjustly detained from you, but also to shew the world by my actions how really I am

Your assured and constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Aynho, 27 Oct. 1642.

The King however had reckoned too favourably of the justice and generosity of those who were opposed to him. They refused to accept any exchange for Lindsey; and, from their knowledge of his exalted fidelity, or of his military skill and bravery, or perhaps from mere malice, detained him till the eleventh of August, in the following year, when he was liberated, it does not appear on what terms, and joining the King at Oxford, became one of his prime counsellors for the future conduct of the war.

He would however exercise no command beyond that of his old regiment, the Life Guard, at the head of which he was actively and valiantly engaged at both the battles of Newbury, at Cropredy Bridge, in several actions in Cornwall, and, finally,

in the battle of Naseby, where he was wounded. It was there that his master's fate may be said to have been unhappily decided ; and as Charles never after commanded personally in the field, so Lindsey, who had almost always fought as it were by his side, now retired from military service. He continued in constant attendance on the King till his Majesty fatally put himself into the hands of the Scots, and then, with his approbation, surrendered, with the Duke of Richmond, and others of Charles's best friends, to the rebel army, and, after an imprisonment of some duration, was released on his parole. He now constantly employed himself in various efforts to promote some sort of accommodation between the King and the Parliament, from which his known honour and integrity extorted a respect rarely shewn by that body to any of the royal party. At length, after a separation of two years, he was permitted, at the particular request of the King, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, again to wait on him, and was appointed by him a commissioner for the treaty of Newport, which, as it is needless to inform the historical reader, was cut short by the abrupt seizure of the King's person by Cromwell's emissaries, almost in the hour when Lindsey, who had obtained some hint of the design, was earnestly pressing him to avoid its consequences by instant flight. Within two months from this precise period the bloody stroke which terminated the miseries of this unhappy and blameless Prince had fallen on him. Lindsey had been still allowed to pay his daily duty, and the King, on the day before his death, in distributing to a few eminent persons some books, to be kept by them as tokens of his regard, gave him the now almost forgotten romance "Cassandra." He was one of the four noblemen who petitioned for, and obtained, permission to attend the royal corpse to its unseemly interment.

After the King's death he remained in England, still a prisoner on parole, suffering severely from time to time by arbitrary fines and sequestrations, and labouring incessantly for the royal cause,

SECOND EARL OF LINDSEY.

but with such secrecy and prudence as to elude always the vigilance of the rebels, except in a single instance, when in 1655, he was accused of high treason against the spurious government, and suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, on charges too obscure and doubtful to warrant even the lawless crew which composed it in bringing him to trial. At the restoration he was received but with that moderate grace which Charles the second, with more policy than feeling, generally bestowed at that time on his father's firmest friends. He was sworn of the Privy Council, and on the first of April, 1661, elected a Knight of the Garter, a favour which it seems he owed to the intercession of Lord Clarendon, to whom the King had sent the Duke of York to offer it to himself. Clarendon modestly declined it, but, as he tells us in his memoirs of his own life, "he desired his Highness to put the King in mind of the Earl of Lindsey (with whom he was known to have no friendship: on the contrary, that there had been disgusts between them in the last King's time)—That his father had lost his life with the Garter about his neck, when this gentleman, his son, endeavouring to relieve him, was taken prisoner—that he had served the King to the end of the war with courage and fidelity, being an excellent officer; for all which the King his father had admitted him a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, which office he was now without: and not to have the Garter now, upon his Majesty's return, would in all men's eyes look like a degradation, and an instance of his Majesty's disesteem, especially if the Chancellor should supply the place, who was not thought his friend. So the Earl of Lindsey was created Knight of the Garter, and coming afterwards to hear by what chance it was, he ever lived with great civility towards the Chancellor to his death." He owed no other favours to the Crown, for the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, which he exercised at the coronation, devolved on him by inheritance, and is at this day vested in his blood under the same right.

Montagu, Earl of Lindsey, died at Campden House, in the

MONTAGU BERTIE, SECOND EARL OF LINDSEY.

parish of Kensington, near London, on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1666, and was buried at Edenham, in the county of Lincoln. He was twice married; first, to Martha, daughter of Sir William Cockayne, of Rushton, in the county of Northampton (ancestor to the Viscounts Cullen of Ireland) and widow of John Ramsey, Earl of Holderness. By this lady he had five sons; Robert, his successor, whose son and heir was created Duke of Ancaster; Peregrine; Richard; Vere; and Charles; and three daughters; Elizabeth, married to Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden; Bridget, to Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards created Duke of Leeds, &c.; and Catherine, to Robert Dormer, of Dourton, in Bucks. His second Countess was Bridget, daughter and heir of Edward, third son of Sir William Wray, of Glentworth, in Lincolnshire, Bart. (by Elizabeth, his wife, who was daughter and heir to Francis Lord Norreys, and Earl of Berkshire) and had issue by her; James, who became Lord Norreys in right of his maternal descent, and was afterwards created Earl of Abingdon; Henry; and one daughter, Mary, married to Charles Dormer, Earl of Caernarvon.

ANNE CLIFFORD,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

IN an age the fashion of which was to confine the minds of women of high birth to the study of school divinity and morality, of the most simple domestic duties, and of a few wretched social forms, which supplied the place of politeness without bearing any resemblance to it; to the gloomy habits of implicit obedience to one, and of absolute rule over many; and to an intercourse only with those of their own rank, in whom, if they were at all disposed to observation, they could but retrace their own imperfect qualifications; we are agreeably surprized at meeting occasionally with one of those rare spirits in which a vigour of natural character opposed itself to the taste, if I may so call it, of a nation, and struggled, with whatever success, to loosen the shackles which had been imposed on it by a declining barbarism: such a one had Anne, Countess of Pembroke.

She was the only surviving child, and at length sole heir, of the gallant and eccentric George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, of whom some account will be found elsewhere in this work, by Margaret, third daughter of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, and was born at her father's seat of Skipton-Castle, in Yorkshire, on the thirtieth of January, 1589. Unhappy dissensions subsisted between her parents, and they were separated in her childhood; but it was her good fortune to be left to the care of her mother, a woman of equal prudence and probity, by whom the charge of the more important part of her education was entrusted to Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days. From him she acquired a taste for history and poetry, and a fondness for literary composition, which she indulged to a

great extent, without publishing, or intending to publish, the fruits of her application. She fell therefore into the common faults with those who write for their own closets, and we find her pen generally careless, often trifling and tedious, and always egotistical; yet in this unpromising mixture we meet frequently with proofs of original genius, and solid intellect, and with scattered examples of the purest and most graceful style of her time. Her chief work is a summary of the circumstances of her own life, which I mention thus early because from that source the materials for the present Memoir will be mostly drawn.

Her picture of her person and mind in her youth is too curious to be omitted, especially as, while it imparts to us her opinion of herself, it betrays features of character of which it is almost certain that she was wholly unconscious. "I was," says she, "very happy in my first constitution, both in mind and body; both for internal and external endowments; for never was there a child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes was black, like my father's, and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's. The hair of my head was brown, and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright; with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple on my chin: Like my father, full cheeks; and round face, like my mother; and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father. But now time and age have long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field: (Isaiah, xl. 67, 68; 1 Peter, i. 24 :) For now, when I caused these memorables of myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body: I had a strong and copious memory; a sound judgement, and a discerning spirit; and so much of a strong imagination in me, as at many times even my dreams and apprehensions proved to be true," &c. &c.

She was married to young Richard, third Earl of Dorset of the

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

Sackvilles, a man of lively parts, and licentious life, and probably a polite and negligent husband; and afterwards, when she had passed the age of forty, to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, a person distinguished only by the brutality of his manners, and the most ungrateful disloyalty. She had abundant cause of private offence from each. The first was a spendthrift, and quarrelled with her because she prevented him from dissipating her estate; the second was a tyrant, and distracted her by the savageness of his humour. Yet she speaks well, and even kindly, of both. The one she tells us was in his nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant: that he excelled in every sort of learning all the young nobility with whom he studied at Oxford; and that he was a true patriot, and an eminent patron of scholars and soldiers. Of the other she says, that he had a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, and a discerning spirit, with a very cholerick nature; and that he was in all respects one of the most distinguished noblemen in England, and well beloved throughout the realm; all which, except the slight censure of his temper, is expressly contradicted by the best historical evidence. How happened it then, high spirited and clear sighted as she was, that she should thus have sacrificed not only the truth, but her own feelings of resentment, by these unmerited compliments? Probably because she disdained to own, even to herself, an erroneous judgment in the choice of her consorts, and because the burthen of their ill usage had been lightened by the consolation she found in self-preference.

I will insert one more extract from her Memoirs, in her own words; not only as it exhibits a further proof of this singular complaisance, but for the view which it affords us of her character, or rather of her own conception of it, in middle age.

“I must confess,” says she, “with inexpressible thankfulness, that, through the goodness of Almighty God, and the mercies of my Saviour Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, I was born a

happy creature in mind, body, and fortune; and that those two Lords of mine, to whom I was afterwards by divine Providence married, were in their several kinds worthy noblemen as any there were in this kingdom; yet it was my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with them both. With my first Lord, about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance for a sum of money, which I never did, nor never would consent unto, insomuch as this matter was the cause of a long contention betwixt us; as also for his profusion in consuming his estate, and some other extravagances of his: and with my second Lord, because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest I had in five thousand pounds, being part of her portion, out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want malicious ill willers, to blow and foment the coals of dissention between us; so as in both their life times, the marble pillars of Knowle, in Kent, and Wilton, in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay harbours of anguish; insomuch as a wise man, that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say that I lived in both these my Lords' great families as the river Roan, or Rhodanus, runs through the lake of Geneva without mingling any part of it's streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both these great families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens; and by a happy genius I overcame all those troubles, the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein."

We have indeed abundant proof of the misery in which she must have lived with Lord Pembroke from the following letter, written by her to her uncle, Edward, Earl of Bedford, which remains in the Harleian Collection.

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

“ MY LORDE,

“ Yesterdaye by Mr. Marshe I receved your Lordship's letter, by which I perceved how much you were trubled att the reporte of my beeing sicke, for which I humblé thanke your Lordshipe. I was so ill as I did make full accountt to die; but now, I thanke God, I am somthinge better. And now, my Lorde, give me leve to desire thatt favouer from your Lordship as to speke earnestly to my Lorde for my coming up to the towne this terme, ether to Bainarde's Castell, or the Cok-pitt; and I protest I will be reday to returne backe hether agane whensoever my Lorde appoynttes itt. I have to this purpos written now to my Lorde, and putt it inclosed in a letter of mine to my Ladey of Carnarvan, as desiring her to deliver itt to her father, whiche I know shee will do with all the advantage shee can, to farder this busines; and iff your Lordship will joyne withe her in itt, you shall afforde a charittable and a most acceptable favouer to your Lordship's cossen, and humble frind to command,

Ramosbury, this 14 of January, 1638.

ANNE PEMBROOKE.”

“ If my Lorde sholld deny my comming, then I desire your Lordship I may understand itt as sone as may bee, thatt so I may order my poore businesses as well as I cane witheoutt my one comminge to the towne; for I dare not ventter to come upe witheoutt his leve, lest he sholld take that occassion to turne mee outt of this howse, as hee did outt of Whitthall, and then I shall not know wher to put my hede. I desire nott to staye in the towne above 10 dayes, or a fortnight att the most.”

This worthless Peer, from whom she had been obliged at length to separate herself, died in 1649; and now, finding herself emancipated from the thraldom under which she had so long laboured, her great spirit bounded, as it were, at once to the proper height which nature had allotted to it. She retired to her own superb estates in the north; not to seclude herself from society, but to chear and enliven it by a princely hospitality; not to cultivate in

ANNE CLIFFORD,

mortification the devotions of the closet, but to invigorate the piety, and improve the morals, of a very large community, as well by her instruction as her example; not to increase her revenues by contracting her expenses, but to give loose to a profusion at once magnificent and œconomical, and to adorn a region with splendid monuments to the fame of her illustrious progenitors, and to the zeal with which she had devoted herself to the celebration of their memory. She was at that time more than sixty years old, but she entered on her task with the ardour and alacrity of youth. Skipton Castle, the chief seat of her family, and its parish Church, had been demolished by a siege during the grand rebellion, and five other castles and mansions of her ancestors were in ruins. All these she gradually restored to their pristine grandeur and convenience. She rebuilt the Church at Bongate, near Appleby, and the neighbouring Chapels of Brougham, Ninekirke, and Mallerstang, and a great part of the Church of Appleby, where also she built, and liberally endowed, a fine hospital for thirteen respectable widows. She testified her filial piety by placing in that town a statue of her beloved mother, and by covering, at Skipton, the ashes of her father with a superb tomb; and her affection to departed genius by erecting a monument for Spenser, in Westminster-abbey, and another for her tutor, Daniel, at Beckingham, in Somersetshire. She reared also in Westmoreland a stately Obelisk, the remains of which, on the Roman road called the Maiden Way, are still identified by the name of "Countess Pillar," to mark the spot where for the last time she parted with her mother.

"But it is still more to her honour," feelingly and eloquently says Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Craven, "that she patronised the poets of her youth, and the distressed loyalists of her maturer age; that she enabled her aged servants to end their lives in ease and independence; and, above all, that she educated and portioned the illegitimate children of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset. Removing from Castle to Castle, she diffused plenty

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

and happiness around her, by consuming on the spot the produce of her vast domains in hospitality and charity. Equally remote from the undistinguishing profusion of ancient times, and the parsimonious elegance of modern habits, her house was a school for the young, and a retreat for the aged; an asylum for the persecuted, a college for the learned, and a pattern for all."

Spite of these admirable attributes, and of all the monuments which she herself had raised, the fame of this Lady was sinking fast into oblivion, when it was suddenly revived by the publication, in 1753, in a periodical paper called "the World," of the following letter, alledged to have been written by her to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles the Second, who had presumed to recommend to her a candidate for her borough of Appleby.

"I have been bullied by an Usurper; I have been neglected by a Court; but I will not be dictated to by a Subject. Your man sha'n't stand.

ANNE DORSET, PEMBROKE, AND MONTGOMERY."

This letter, not to speak of its value as relating to the Countess's story, was peculiarly recommended to notice by some local circumstances. It appeared in a publication avowedly written by one justly and equally celebrated for the politeness of his literary taste, and for his extensive acquaintance with the later antiquities of his country. It flattered the political prejudices of the hour, and furnished a new theme to the Whigs, drawn from a period comparatively slavish, yet ascribed to one of the highest of the aristocracy. It was viewed as an inestimable curiosity in every point of consideration, and a thousand times quoted or repeated. It found its way even into the "Philosophy of Rhetoric" of Dr. Campbell, who uses it to illustrate a position. After all, I incline strongly to doubt, nay to deny, the genuineness of the document itself. Fond as the Countess was of recording even the most insignificant affairs of her life, there are no traces

of it, nor of the circumstance which is said to have occasioned it, in her Memoirs; nor does the work in which it first appeared condescend to favour us with any hint of reference to the original authority from which it was derived. These, however, are but strong grounds for suspicion; but the internal evidence of the thing itself seems completely to destroy all chance of its authenticity. The measured construction and the brevity of each individual sentence; the sudden disjunction of the sentences from each other; the double repetition, in so small a space, of the same phrase; and the studied conciseness of the whole; are all evidently creatures of modern taste, and finished samples of that science of composition which had then (I mean when the Countess acquired her habits of writing,) scarcely dawned on English prose. No instance, I think, can be found of the verb "stand" having been used at that time in the sense to which it is applied in this letter, nor was the quaint and coarse word "bully" known but as a substantive. It is vexatious to be obliged to strip this Lady's life of an anecdote so interesting, but it would have been uncandid to insert it without the remarks which I have taken the liberty to make.

The Countess had the happiness to live very long, with few infirmities. Dr. Whitaker states her age to have been eighty-seven, but the inscription on the splendid tomb which had been erected by herself at Appleby expressly informs us that she was born on the thirtieth of January, 1590, and died, at her Castle at Brougham, on the twenty-second of March, 1675. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, preached a sermon at her funeral, in the dull and conceited strain which then distinguished such orations; from which, however, I will select a single passage, because we have hitherto received no account of her character but from her own pen. "She had," says he, "a clear soul, shining through a vivid body. Her body was durable and healthful, her soul sprightly; of great understanding and judgment; faithful memory, and ready wit. She had early gained a knowledge, as

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

of the best things, so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know. She could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives, in any kind ; insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, well seen in all human learning," (Dr. Donne) " is reported to have said of her that she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination down to slea-silk. If she had sought fame rather than wisdom possibly she might have been ranked among those wits, and learned of that sex, of whom Pythagoras, or Plutarch, or any of the ancients, have made such honourable mention : but she affected rather to study with those noble Bereans, and those honourable women, who searched the Scriptures daily ; and, with Mary, she chose the better part, of learning the doctrine of Christ." The Sermon informs us that she left an account of " the Honours, Descents, Pedigrees, Estates, Titles, and Claims, of her progenitors, comprised, historically and methodically, in three volumes of the larger size." Those who have written of her seem to confound this work with the Memoirs of herself, which have already been spoken of, but the Bishop clearly distinguishes them. Lord Orford says that she wrote Memoirs of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset, which remain in manuscript : This has been, apparently with little reason, doubted by some later writers. Many curious effusions from her busy mind probably remain unknown, and buried among the evidences of her posterity.

This great Countess had by Lord Dorset three sons, who died infants, and two daughters ; Margaret, married to John Tufton, Earl of Thanet ; and Isabella, to James Compton, Earl of Northampton. By the Earl of Pembroke she had no children.

JAMES BUTLER,

FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND.

A MEMOIR of the extent necessarily prescribed to these can furnish but a very imperfect sketch of such a life as that on which I am now required to treat. The Duke of Ormond was perhaps the best as well as the greatest of the eminent men of his time; a just representation of his moral character would comprehend almost all the features of a pure system of ethics, and a regular detail of his public conduct nearly the whole story of his country, from the period of his first appearance on the theatre of public affairs to his death. Little therefore can be expected here beyond a mere common-place narrative of the circumstances of a life the due celebration of which might justly demand all the dignity, as well as all the diligence of history.

Of his descent from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Ireland it is almost needless to speak. His predecessors had encountered strange vicissitudes; had been attainted, and restored; had been forced by Henry the eighth to relinquish their Earldom, under the name of a voluntary surrender, to the father of Anne Boleyn, and, after the downfall of her family, re-obtained it from that Prince; and were at length stripped of their estates, under colour of law, by James the first, that they might fall, with the shew of an inheritance, into the hands of one of his Scottish favourites, Sir Richard Preston, lately created Viscount Dingwall, who had married the only daughter and heir of the tenth Earl. On the death of the latter, Sir Walter Butler, of Killcash, a collateral kinsman who became the object of that injustice, succeeded to the titles, and the subject of this memoir was the first born child of his eldest son, Thomas, Viscount

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Thurles, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Iron Acton, in Gloucestershire.

He was born in 1610, and passed his youth under the most inauspicious circumstances. While yet in his infancy his grandfather was committed to the Fleet prison for having murmured at the award which had deprived him of his estates, and remained there till the King died; and in 1619 his father was lost at sea in passing over from Ireland, leaving a widow, and seven children, nearly destitute. His education was almost wholly neglected. He was placed for some years under the care of a carpenter's wife at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and removed from thence to Finchley, where he received some very ordinary instruction, by a Mr. Conyers, a Roman Catholic priest, from whom he was taken by the King's order, and sent to Lambeth, that he might be bred under the inspection of Archbishop Abbot in the Protestant faith. Abbot seems to have abided strictly by the letter of his instructions, for the young Lord Thurles certainly was converted to the Church of England, of which he remained ever after a zealous son, but was otherwise treated with such carelessness that it was not till the age of twenty, after he had married, that he began to study the Latin language, and then in a manner accidentally, by the aid of the domestic chaplain of his uncle Poyntz, in a visit which he made to that gentleman's country seat, for the purpose of introducing his bride.

His marriage terminated the series of misfortune and persecution which had assailed him almost from the hour of his birth, and was the result of very singular circumstances. Lord Dingwall had an only daughter, heir of course to the Ormond estates which her father had so unjustly acquired. The favourite Buckingham, ever bent on aggrandizing his family, had obtained the promise of her hand for his nephew, George Fielding, second son to the Earl of Denbigh, and, among other arrangements regarding the marriage, Dingwall was created Viscount Callan, and Earl of Desmond, in Ireland, with remainder to George Fielding, on

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whom also was immediately conferred the title of Lord Fielding. To remove more effectually any chance of obstruction to this treaty, James suffered himself to be persuaded to put the heir male of the House of Ormond wholly into the hands of his adversary, and most iniquitously granted the wardship and marriage of Lord Thurles to the Earl of Desmond. A special interference of providence seems to have defeated the plan. Just as it was at the point of accomplishment Buckingham was assassinated, and Desmond drowned on his passage between Dublin and Holyhead, and his widow, who it will be recollected was heir to the Earls of Ormond of the elder line, dying about the same time, with her last breath conjured her daughter to put an end to the miseries of the family by uniting herself to her kinsman. On the eighth of September, 1629, Charles the first, who had now succeeded to the throne, signed a licence for their marriage, which was immediately after celebrated.

In 1632 he succeeded, on the death of his grandfather, to the dignities of his family, and in the following year went to Ireland, to the government of which the Earl of Strafford had then lately been appointed. It is said that on his first visit to that great man, Strafford, who viewed him from a window as he crossed the castle yard, said to those about him—"if my skill in physiognomy fail me not, that young nobleman will make the greatest man of his family." A circumstance soon after occurred which might have caused a lasting breach between men of minds less noble. Strafford had issued an order that at the meeting of Parliament the members should not enter either House wearing swords: all obeyed except the Earl of Ormond, who, on his sword being demanded at the door by the usher of the black rod, answered "you shall have no sword of mine but in your body;" nor was this merely the intemperate sally of a rash young man, for, on his being summoned to answer for it on the rising of the House, he shewed the King's writ, calling him to Parliament "*cinctus cum gladio*." The Deputy admitted the justification, and is said to have been

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charmed by his high spirit and acuteness. How far this single occurrence might have operated to unite two persons of congenial dispositions can scarcely be supposed, but certain it is that from this period they conceived a mutual friendship, which on Strafford's part was presently considerably enhanced by his growing experience of Ormond's splendid talents. In a long letter to the Secretary of State, dated on the sixteenth of December, 1634, when the young Earl had been not many months in Ireland, Strafford, in giving a general view of the state of that country, says—"In the higher House there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the rest in judgement and parts as he hath in estate and blood, and one who, upon my observation since I came hither, expresseth very good affections to the Crown and government, so as I hold him a person of consequence, and fit to receive some mark of his Majesty's favour, and humbly offer it to his Majesty's wisdom whether it were not seasonable to make him a Counsellor. He is young, but, take it from me, a very staid head." The Secretary's answer, which, together with the letter just now cited, are published in the Strafford Papers, conveys the King's warrant for his admission into the Privy Council.

He became now Strafford's confidential adviser, and shared with him the cares of his government, neither receiving nor requiring any reward beyond the hope of a happy issue of his labours. In the following Parliament, which met in 1640, he acted with equal zeal and discretion as the chief manager of all business in the House of Lords on the part of the Crown, and when the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion rendered it necessary to raise an armed force in Ireland, the levy was intrusted to his care, and the army afterwards placed under his command. The storm which had for some time threatened Strafford at home began now to break over his head, and in Ireland the same Parliament which had lately offered their public thanks to the King for having given them so worthy a Governor readily joined that of England in his prosecution: The Commons voted a long and bitter remon-

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strance against him, and a powerful party in the House of Peers was preparing to follow their example, but were prevented by the forcible arguments of Ormond, and the earnest opposition of a band which the force of his talents, and the example of his rectitude, had united in the defence of the Crown and the laws. It was, however, presently evident that Strafford was devoted to utter ruin. Many proofs remain that his attachment to Ormond subsisted unimpaired to his last hour. Two letters written while he was imprisoned in the Tower to this nobleman have been preserved: in the first, dated on the seventeenth of December, 1640, he tells him that he had recommended him to the King for the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland; and begins the second, on the third of the following February, with these passionate expressions—"There is so little rest given me, my noble Lord, as I have not scarce time to eat my bread, I trust to have more quietness after a while. Your Lordship's favours towards me in these afflictions are such as have, and shall, level my heart at your foot so long as I live, or else let me be infamous to all men." On the evening before he suffered death, he intrusted to Archbishop Usher a few requests to be delivered to his royal master, one of which was that his blue ribbon should be given to the Earl of Ormond. Charles offered it accordingly, but Ormond replied "that his own loyalty stood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that such an honour might probably be employed more for his Majesty's service."

On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, in the winter of 1641, the King would have appointed him Lord Deputy, but the Parliament had determined on the Earl of Leicester. The important post, however, of Commander in Chief of the army was intrusted to him by the Lords Justices, and, with that felicitous application of talents to new objects which belongs only to the greatest minds, he presently appeared in the character of an able and experienced general. He determined to attack the rebels in every quarter with unceasing vigour, and was uniformly victorious

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during the whole of the next year's campaign, though his measures were frequently impeded by enemies in the Council more formidable than those in the field. The Justices, Borlace and Parsons, became jealous of his favour with the King, and inclined, from party motives, to weaken the effect of those services the success of which would certainly have placed him at the head of the government. They soon endeavoured to thwart all his plans, and the arrival of Leicester, by whom they had been secretly encouraged, aggravated the evil. Calumnies arising from the same quarters were spread against him in England, but it may be presumed with little effect, since the House of Commons in that year voted him their thanks, and presented him with a rich jewel ; while the King, desirous to remove the inconveniencies under which he laboured, and to confer on him a special mark of the royal approbation, renewed his appointment of Commander in Chief by a commission from himself, under the Great Seal, and presently after created him Marquis of Ormond. The Irish government could now no longer controul his measures, but new and more serious difficulties began to present themselves in the state of the country at large. Even the loyalists of Ireland, since the commencement of the rebellion, had been gradually dividing themselves into five factions of various views and interests, abounding in rancour and hatred towards each other. The uncertainty and the scantiness of supplies drawn from such discordant sources crippled the sinews of war, and the increasing fury of the fanatical party in the English Parliament blinded that assembly to the necessities of the sister country. These disadvantages, till they could be no longer encountered, seemed but to inspire Ormond with increased zeal and vigour, but he was at length obliged to cede to them. Soon after a signal victory, gained by a very inferior force under his command, near the town of Ross, he was under the cruel necessity of accepting proposals from the rebels, the issue of which was a cessation of arms for twelve months.

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The news of this treaty, which was signed on the fifteenth of September, 1643, was received with much affected disapprobation by the English Parliament, and with real grief by the King, who was, however, so fully satisfied of the fidelity and capacity with which the measures preceding it had been conducted that he resolved to place the Marquis at the head of the government of Ireland, and he was accordingly sworn into the office of Lord Lieutenant in the spring of the following year. Ormond's great spirit shrunk for a moment from the difficulties of which his new station gave him a nearer and more comprehensive view, and he besought Charles to recal his appointment. To the discords by which the country thus placed under his charge was already torn was now added the baleful influence of an incipient rebellion in England, emissaries from whose leaders were indefatigably employed in endeavouring to seduce the loyal Irish from their allegiance, while many of those who remained unshaken were intriguing against him in the Court, lately removed to Oxford, or importuning him for rewards and benefits which he was wholly unable to bestow. Charles however conjured him to stand firmly at his post, and he obeyed, but the necessities of his situation forced him immediately to conclude a peace with the rebels, which was signed at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July, 1646. The hopes founded on this agreement were blasted by strange intrigues which had commenced during its negotiation. The Roman Catholics, by far the most powerful party in Ireland, and from which all the captains of the rebellion had issued, had been unremittingly goaded on by the Pope's Nuncio to raise their own interest on the ruins of all others, while Charles, with the best motives, and the worst policy, had privately employed the fantastic Edward Somerset, Earl of Glamorgan, in a mysterious correspondence with the chiefs of that persuasion for the eventual benefit of the Protestant cause. Thus flattered and elated, they embarked in a new conspiracy, the leading feature of which was to seize the person of the Lord Lieutenant at Kilkenny, from whence he

escaped, with much difficulty and danger, to Dublin, to which they immediately laid siege. Ormond long defended the capital with equal perseverance and skill, and chiefly at his own charge, till his means were wholly exhausted. In the mean time his royal master fell, a helpless prisoner, into the hands of his fanatical rebels at home, and the distraction of Ireland was increased by the arrival of commissioners from the English Parliament. Unable to hold the city longer, he had no alternative but to surrender it to them, or to the insurgents, and, preferring the former, signed a treaty with them to that effect on the nineteenth of June, 1647, and soon after embarked for England.

He obtained with some difficulty permission to wait on the King, then confined in Hampton Court, and laid before his Majesty an exact account of his conduct in the government of Ireland, and of the state in which he had left the country. Charles declared his perfect approbation and gratitude, and refused to receive the Marquis's commission, which he now once more begged leave to resign, saying that, "if it could ever be employed with success in that country, it must be by him." Doubtless in this interview between that unhappy Prince and his faithful servant new plans were laid, and fresh hopes inspired, as Ormond soon after embarked for France, where he remained for ten months, negotiating, as it should seem, with the Catholics on each side of the water, for at length the leaders of those of Ireland suddenly expelled the Nuncio, and invited the Marquis to return, which he did on the ninth of September, 1648, and immediately concluded with them a treaty of peace. He had brought with him neither men nor money; experience had taught him that his new friends were to be trusted with caution; the capital was in the hands of a rebel officer from England, and several other places of more importance for strength were garrisoned by that party; emissaries from Cromwell, who had been appointed commander in chief for the reduction of Ireland, were in perpetual activity there; and Prince Rupert, who lay on the coast with the fleet

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which had revolted from the Parliament, instead of assisting him, thwarted his measures, and took on himself to deal independently with the different factions, from a jealousy and vanity equally unpardonable.

Ormond, undaunted by these obstacles, resumed the helm with admirable coolness and intrepidity. The news of the murder of the King had excited universal horror in Ireland, and he strove to take advantage of that disposition. He lost no time in proclaiming Charles the second; made flattering proposals of treaty to O'Neill, who commanded that class of the rebels which had named itself the old Irish, and which was still in arms; and endeavoured to gain over the English commanders. All these steps proving ineffectual, he determined to put the success of the royal cause in Ireland upon one grand and desperate issue, and to besiege the city of Dublin. His force scarcely exceeded in number that of the garrison, and he was proceeding in his enterprise with equal caution and resolution, when a strong reinforcement to the enemy arrived from England, and encouraged the besieged to make a general sally. An action, which the Irish writers call the battle of Rathmines, ensued, in which his little army was totally routed, and while he was devising the means to resume at least a posture of defence, Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin, with an army of twelve thousand men, and finally extinguished all his hopes of success. He now resolved to quit a country in which his hopes of service were blasted, and his life in danger, and, having asserted the dying authority of his commission in the appointment of the Earl of Clanricarde to the office of Lord Deputy, embarked, on the fifth of September, 1650, for France, to partake with Charles the second in a union of desperate fortunes.

Charles, dissipated, indolent, and unprincipled, as he was, admired talents, and respected virtues. He had lately bestowed on the Marquis of Ormond one of the very few rewards in his power by sending to him in Ireland the Order of the Garter, and now received him into the utmost favour and confidence. He

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remained, however, at Paris during the King's absence in that unfortunate expedition which terminated in the battle of Worcester, assisting with his counsel the Queen mother and her family. In the mean time his finances became totally exhausted, and, the Marchioness, who was in England, employed in negotiating with the Parliament to save some part of his estates from confiscation, being unable to send him any assistance, he was for a long time compelled to depend on the generous hospitality of the French nobility for support. Soon after the King's return, he accepted a commission of peculiar delicacy—to detach the Duke of Gloucester from the Queen mother, who had obstinately determined to breed him in the Romish persuasion. This he effected with so much address as not only to maintain himself in the Queen's favour but to become afterwards the sole instrument of appeasing the quarrel which it had caused between her and the King. He was now for a considerable time employed in endeavouring to gain over the Court of Spain to his master's interests, through the means of Don John of Austria, Governor of the Low Countries, by whom he was held in high consideration; and, having discovered that false and unfavorable representations had been made to that Prince by Cardenas, the Spanish minister to Cromwell, of the degree of influence possessed by Charles in England, he nobly determined to go thither in disguise, and to collect such proofs as might remove all doubt on the subject. The story of this expedition, which occupied a month, and of the dangers which he encountered in it, is full of curiosity, but its results seem to have been insignificant. The loyalty and courage which he had displayed in it fixed him more firmly than ever in the King's esteem: he became Charles's most favoured companion and adviser; was consulted on all the secret steps which led to the restoration; and had no small share in the accomplishment of that great event.

His services were now acknowledged with becoming gratitude. He was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed Steward of the

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Household; and created a Peer of England by the title of Earl of Brecknock. The Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, which he had held for some years before the death of the late King, was restored to him, and he was re-possessioned not only of the great estates of which he had been stripped during the usurpation, but of all others which had at any time been forfeited to the Crown by his ancestors, the preamble to the patent by which that extraordinary boon was conferred containing perhaps a larger acknowledgment of services than any subject had ever before received from his Prince. He was created Lord High Steward of England for the occasion of the coronation, and was raised, a few days before that ceremony took place, to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, in Ireland: at length, on the fourth of October, 1662, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of that island, an event so welcome to the best judgements of the country that the Parliament immediately voted to him a present of thirty thousand pounds. Ireland however was yet in a state of considerable ferment, and indeed some necessary measures which had been taken since the restoration had created new discontents. The act of settlement was odious to the military, and the act of uniformity to the sectaries: those regulations were ascribed chiefly to the Duke, and a few of the most daring of each party joined, soon after his arrival, in a plot, contrived with infinite subtlety, chiefly by the notorious Colonel Blood, then a Lieutenant, for surprising the Castle of Dublin, and seizing his person, as the prelude to a general insurrection.

This conspiracy having been happily rendered abortive by a timely discovery, Ormond applied himself to the affairs of his government with an equal attention to the interests of the monarchy and the welfare of the Irish, but was presently interrupted by the profligate class of ministers who then infested Charles's heterogeneous Cabinet. It should seem that their aversion to him arose simply from that almost instinctive antipathy which knaves bear towards honest and honourable men. Bennet

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afterwards Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, endeavoured to thwart all his measures, and easily persuaded the Queen mother, whom he had offended by refusing some favour to the Marquis of Antrim, who was patronized by her, and the King's mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine, whom he had uprightly and wisely prevented from having a grant of the Phoenix park and mansion, in Dublin, to undermine him in that Prince's affections. In the mean time, which aggravated their malice, he lived in the strictest intimacy and confidence with the great and virtuous Earl of Clarendon, whom they detested; and, when they contrived soon after to compass the political ruin of that admirable statesman, great pains were taken to discover matter whereon to ground an impeachment against Ormond, and rumours were industriously spread, both in England and Ireland, to teach the people to expect it. Charles, rather from kindness than suspicion, recalled him in May, 1668, to give an account of his conduct, and received him with the grace to which he had been accustomed. He told the King that "though it would never trouble him to be undone for his Majesty, it would be an insupportable affliction to be undone by him;" challenged and obtained the strictest enquiry, and was declared wholly blameless. Buckingham, however, who had determined to displace him, commenced a series of intrigue and artifice which rendered his public situation insupportable, and he resigned it in the spring of the following year; nor did that sacrifice abate the rancour of his enemies, who now insinuated that he had derived immense wealth during his administration from the miseries of Ireland. This report was diffused with such effect that he thought himself bound to refute it by a second explanation, and is said to have shewn satisfactorily that the public had become indebted to him during the term of his services in the enormous balance of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds.

Ormond retired with unabated loyalty, and dignified patience. The party by which he had been persecuted could not prevail on

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Charles to dismiss him from the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which he, on his part, condescended to retain from motives of respect to that Prince; the University of Oxford, immediately after his removal from the government of Ireland, unanimously elected him Chancellor; the wise, the good, and the great, seemed united in one common sentiment of esteem for him; when those who had in vain endeavoured to destroy his character determined to attack his life. On the sixth of December, 1670, having been to dine in the city, on the occasion of an entertainment given by the corporation to the Prince of Orange, he was beset on his return in St. James's Street, by a few armed desperadoes, commanded by his old enemy Blood, who himself forced the Duke out of his coach; bound him on a horse, behind one of the party; and was hurrying him to Tyburn, intending to have hanged him there on the common gallows, when he was by a surprizing good fortune rescued. Buckingham was strongly suspected of having planned this outrageous enterprize, and Blood's concern in it was totally unknown till he voluntarily confessed in his examination by the King, after his well known attempt to carry off the Regalia in the following year. Charles, whose mysterious conduct on that remarkable occasion has been so frequently the subject of historical conjecture, sent Arlington to the Duke of Ormond to request that he would forgive Blood, "for reasons which he had orders to disclose to him;" but the Duke answered, says Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his narrative, that "if the King could forgive him for stealing his crown, he" (the Duke) "might easily forgive his attempt upon his life: and if such was his Majesty's pleasure, that was a sufficient reason for him, and his Lordship might spare the rest."

He now remained for seven years unemployed in the State, and personally slighted by the King, when, in the month of April, 1677, he suddenly received a message that his Majesty would sup with him. The occasion of Charles's visit was to communicate

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his determination to appoint him once more Lord Lieutenant, a step to which the Duke of York, as it afterwards appeared, had prompted the King, to prevent Monmouth from succeeding to that office. His third administration was marked by a degree of patriotism and wisdom even higher than either of the former. Ireland was now somewhat tranquillized, but the overweening influence of the Papists threatened the extinction of the established religion, and disturbed the conduct of the State. He opposed it with a firmness so happily moderated as to have wholly escaped the charge of persecution; seized and imprisoned Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who had meditated a dangerous design against his person; swept away the other titular dignitaries by a single proclamation; gradually rendered the army completely protestant; and left the common people of the contrary persuasion to the quiet exercise of their faith and worship. Meanwhile he encouraged agriculture, arts, and manufactures, by regulations full of discretion, and sought the civilization and comfort of his countrymen with the most affectionate zeal. Still, however, he was opposed in England, with unremitting industry, by the party which had so long molested him. Charles, to escape from their importunities, found himself obliged to declare, with an oath, that "while the Duke of Ormond lived he should never be put out of that government;" yet he was obliged so far to submit as to call again upon his Grace for an explanation and defence of his ministry, which having been given, to the full satisfaction of the whole of both countries, the King invited him to London in 1682, and, on the ninth of November in that year, raised his Dukedom to an English dignity. He took advantage of this tide of favour to reiterate with earnestness the arguments which he had for several years been vainly pressing on the King's attention to induce him to call a Parliament in Ireland, and gave offence. He was commanded to return to his government, from which indeed he had been long absent, and Charles, forgetting his

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oath, dispatched after him an order to deprive him of it, but did not live to receive its resignation.

From James he had less courteousness to expect than he experienced. The sword indeed was taken from him at Dublin with little ceremony, but the King, on his arrival in London, received him graciously; left him in possession of his ancient office of Lord Steward; and paid him the compliment of giving him the crown to carry at the coronation. Little of interest now remained to fill up the measure of a long and unblemished life. Ormond, a pattern of loyalty, but not more devoted to the monarchy than to the Protestant establishment, lent his last endeavours in the public service at once to save his Prince from the ruin to which he seemed to have devoted himself, and the Church of England from injuries which the work of an age might not have repaired; while James, to crown the absurdities into which his zeal had betrayed him, disturbed the tranquillity with which the Duke declined towards the grave by ridiculous efforts to induce him to abandon that system of faith which had been the guide of his youth and maturity, and was now the hope and comfort of his old age. He died of a gradual decay, at Kingston Hall, a house which he had hired in Dorsetshire, on the twenty-first of July, 1688, and was buried on the fourth of the next month in Westminster Abbey.

This great person married, as has been before partly observed, his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir to Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond, by whom he had eight sons, all of whom he survived, and two daughters. Of the former, the first, third, fourth, sixth, and eighth; Thomas, James, James, Walter, and James, died very young: Thomas, the second son, was the admirable Earl of Ossory, whose memory has been embalmed by the pen of Lord Clarendon; the fifth, Richard, was created Viscount of Tullough, &c. in Ireland, and Lord Butler of Weston, in England, by Charles the second; John the seventh son, was also

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advanced by the same Prince to the peerage of Ireland, by the titles of Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. The daughters were Elizabeth, wife of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield ; and Mary, married to William Lord Cavendish, afterwards the first Duke of Devonshire.

WILLIAM, FIRST EARL OF CRAVEN.

FROM a Yorkshire family, seated at Appletrewick, in Craven, from which district doubtless it derived its surname, sprung Sir William Craven, a younger son, who became a merchant and alderman of London, acquired great wealth, and served the offices of Sheriff, and Lord Mayor. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Whitmore, of that city, and he had by her three sons, and two daughters, both of whom were married to powerful Peers. Of the sons, William, the subject of this memoir, was the eldest ; John, the second, was created by King Charles the first, in 1643, Lord Craven, of Ryton in Shropshire, and left no issue ; and Thomas, the youngest, died unmarried. William therefore not only inherited his father's extensive possessions, but became at length heir to those of his brothers.

He was born early in the year 1606, and even from his childhood manifested a strong passion for a military life, which he was permitted to gratify before he came of age in active service in Germany, and in the Netherlands under Henry Prince of Orange, where, in addition to the most determined bravery, he is said to have displayed all those qualities of mind that are esteemed essential in the character of a commander. He returned in the spring of 1627, on the fourth of March, in which year he was knighted, and on the twelfth of the same month raised to the rank of a baron, by the title of Lord Craven, of Hamsted Marshall, in Berks. Having passed more than three years in courtly and rural occupations not at all to his taste, a new opportunity for warfare offered itself, and he seized it with eagerness. In 1631 the King dispatched a considerable body of English troops to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus, who had attacked the Emperor of Germany in his country, and had on his part engaged

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to use his best efforts to re-instate the Elector Palatine, nominal King of Bohemia, and the unfortunate brother in law to Charles, in the possession of his hereditary dominions. Whether Lord Craven embarked in this expedition with any distinct command, or in the character of a volunteer, is uncertain; his conduct however in the field raised his military reputation to the utmost, and excited the admiration even of the heroic Swede, by whom he was presently admitted not only to favour but to confidence. He marched with that Prince in February, 1632, from Bavaria into the Palatinate, where he distinguished himself by a valour almost romantic in the siege of the strong fortress of Creutznach, in the successful assault of which he first entered the breach. Gustavus, brave as he was, could not help telling him that "he gave his younger brother too many chances for his estate;" and rejoiced no less that he had escaped only with a wound in his thigh from a pike than for the fortunate result of the enterprize.

The King of Sweden fell at Lutzen almost immediately after this event, and his death was presently followed by that of the King of Bohemia. Craven now attached himself and his sword to the cause of that Prince's son, the young Elector Palatine, whose various fortunes he seems to have shared till the year 1637, when the Emperor finally crushed the hopes of that ill-fated House in a decisive action, and, the Elector having with difficulty saved himself by flight, his brother Rupert, and Lord Craven, fell into the hands of the victors. It was probably about this period that he became intimately known to Elizabeth, the mother of those royal youths, whose exquisitely amiable qualities, joined to no inconsiderable share of personal beauty, had justly obtained for her the title of "the Queen of Hearts." He now devoted himself romantically to her. When she took refuge in Holland, where she at length settled for the remainder of her life, he followed her, and entered into the service of the House of Nassau. They became inseparable. He husbanded and aided her impoverished purse, regulated her household, and superintended all her

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affairs. Reports naturally arose that they were secretly married, and there is abundant reason to believe that such was the fact. He returned no more to England till after the restoration, but stood aloof, brave and loyal as he certainly was, beholding, in a tranquil inactivity which could scarcely be ascribed to any weaker motive than that passion which frequently absorbs all others, his country for years in arms, and his King gradually declining from the throne to the scaffold.

That this forbearance on his part arose not however from disaffection or negligence was clearly proved. No man contributed more largely to the necessities of the Crown, or suffered severer penalties for his loyalty, than himself. The whole of his great revenue was devoted during the war to the King, and to his sister the Queen of Bohemia, and afterwards to the maintenance of a shadow of royalty in the little court of the exiled Charles the second. The parliament at length marked him as a victim, and an infamous person of the name of Falconer was procured to swear that the Lord Craven had promoted a petition from several persons, praying the King to employ them against the rulers in England, who were designated in that petition "barbarous and inhuman rebels." This testimony was supported, if it may be so said, by the depositions of two others, somewhat more conscientious, who would report no further than that they had seen him waiting on the King at Breda, and that Charles had intrusted to him the care of one of his natural children. On the strength of this wretched evidence the Parliament resolved on the sixteenth of March, 1650-1, that "the Lord Craven was an offender within the meaning and intention of the declaration of the twenty-fourth of August, 1649, that all persons who might adhere to, or aid and assist, Charles Stuart, son to the late King, should be deemed traitors and rebels; that the estate of the said Lord Craven should be confiscated accordingly; and that the commissioners appointed for such purposes should seize and sequester all his estates, real and personal, and receive the rents and profits to

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the use of the commonwealth." The parliament however, degenerate as it was, hesitated long on the question whether this unjust sentence should be executed, but at length, after many debates and divisions, a bill for the sale of all his property was passed by a majority of three voices, on the third of August, 1653, and this act of rapine was aggravated to the utmost by the almost incredible fact that on the second of the preceding May Falconer had been convicted of perjury in giving the very testimony which had furnished a pretext for it. His estates were now allotted, for the most part, to the very men whose votes had deprived him of them.

The injuries thus sustained, and the services which he had rendered, were somewhat compensated by Charles the second, who, immediately after the restoration, advanced him to the titles of Viscount Craven of Uffington in Berks, and Earl of Craven, in Yorkshire, and about the same time called him to the Privy Council, and appointed him Lord Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex, and Custos Rotulorum of Berks. The colonelcy of the regiment of guards then, and still called "the Coldstream," was some years after bestowed on him, and he held, probably at a yet later date, the office of High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and a share in the proprietary of the province of Carolina in North America; he was also Master of the Trinity House. In 1665, having no issue, he obtained a new patent to settle his barony of Craven on Sir William Craven, of Combe Abbey, in Warwickshire, great grandson and heir male of his uncle Henry, elder brother to his father, and in right of descent from that Sir William it is now held by the nobleman to whom the rest of the titles have been of late years granted.

The Earl of Craven lived to a great age, always kindly received at Court, because he asked no favours there, and lived in an easy familiarity with men of all parties because he had attached himself to none. It is said of him that "he was one of the most accomplished gentlemen in Europe; an useful subject;

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charitable ; abstemious as to himself, generous to others ; familiar in his conversation, and universally beloved.” It may be added perhaps that he was somewhat of a humourist. We are told that he had a singular inclination, almost a passion, for conflagrations, and that it was his custom to have a horse always ready for him to mount in the moment of his receiving the news of a house on fire. He indulged this disposition with much public benefit in the great calamity of 1666, in which he is said to have been not only to the last degree active, but eminently useful. So too had he been in the awful visitation of the preceding year, during which he remained constantly in London, advising on the best means of preventing the contagion, and even visiting the infected, to whom indeed it may be said that his care was extended even after their death, for he gave a piece of land for the burial exclusively of those who should die of the plague then or thereafter. When buildings were erected on this ground, which is the scite of Carnaby Market, a field on his estate at Paddington was given in exchange for it, which is yet, at least nominally, subject to the provision in question.

This nobleman died unmarried, at his house in Drury Lane, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, on the ninth of April, 1697, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry.



WILLIAM RUSSELL,

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

THIS nobleman, the first of his eminent family that was advanced to the highest rank of the peerage, was the eldest son of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, by Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos. He was born in 1613, and received his education at Magdalen College, in Oxford. The few circumstances of his life which have been handed down to us are chiefly of a domestic nature. Soon after he returned from his travels he became violently enamoured of a young lady, to whose exquisite beauty a portrait in this work bears ample testimony, nor were the qualities of her mind less admirable, and his passion was met by her with equal ardour. She was the only child of that unhappy and guilty pair, Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard, the divorced Countess of Essex. The Earl, his father, with feelings for which no apology is necessary, vehemently opposed their union, and was at last induced by the King's express interposition to give it his unwilling consent; but his conduct in the arrangements for the nuptials was neither dignified nor delicate. Somerset's fortune, as well as his character, had been lost in the dark abyss of ruin into which he had plunged himself: his last remaining comfort was his daughter, whom he loved with the most tender fondness; and the Earl of Bedford now left him no alternative but to reduce himself to beggary, or to destroy probably for ever, her peace: he insisted on a portion of twelve thousand pounds for the wife of his son, and Somerset, to whom of the wealth which James had heaped on him scarcely any thing remained but his house at Chiswick, sold it, together with the furniture, and his plate

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and jewels, to raise that sum, saying that, "since her affections were settled, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy."

He was a member of that wretched assembly which met on the third of November, 1640, and is known by the appellation of the Long Parliament. His father, a man of restless and ambitious temper, had from the commencement of the public discords attached himself to the popular party, with the view of forcing on the King an administration to be formed and headed by himself; and Lord Russell, as might be expected, obeyed in some measure the dictates, and followed the example, of his parent. But his disposition was mild and moderate, and his future conduct with regard to public affairs soon proved the just value which he set on a name too exalted to be tarnished by any arts but those which spring from party intrigue, and an inheritance too mighty to be shaken but by such popular convulsions as might threaten the existence even of empires. He accepted, it is true, the command of General of the Horse, under the Earl of Essex, in the army first raised by the Parliament, his commission for which was granted on the fourteenth of July, 1642, two months after he had succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, and was almost immediately detached, with a powerful body of cavalry, and seven thousand foot, to harass the Marquis of Hertford in the western counties, where that nobleman was employed in levying forces for the King. He conducted the enterprise with vigour and success; rejoined the main army; and distinguished himself on the twenty-fourth of the following October at the battle of Edge Hill, where he commanded that reserve of Horse which gained the reputation of having by a timely relief, saved the Parliament army from total discomfiture: but he quitted the rebel service within one year from the date at which he entered it. History affords us no clue to the motives which induced him to this sudden step; the testimony however of a long remaining life, marked by the highest honour and

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probity in private concerns, and by an unsuspected, though passive, loyalty, leaves us little room to doubt that his secession ought to be widely distinguished from the unworthy vacillations of many of his compeers.

Towards the end of the summer of 1643 he repaired to London with Essex, and some other noblemen of the party, who had at length determined to use their utmost efforts to accomplish a peace, and voted for a conference with the Commons, which was held on the fifth of August, to settle the terms which it might be proper to propose to the King, and to assure them of the concurrence and steady support of the House of Peers. They arrived however but to behold the rapid decline of that great branch of the legislature; and the Earl of Bedford, disappointed in the salutary views which he had too late conceived, and threatened, and even pursued, by a wild and savage mob, to the raising of which he had unwittingly contributed his own great authority, resolved to fly to Oxford, and place himself under the protection of the King. Amidst difficulties and dangers, he reached Wallingford, in Berkshire, the royal garrison nearest to London, where he was admitted by the Governor, who would not however allow him to proceed without orders from the Privy Council, in which it was long debated, with great heat, whether he should be received; at length the King, who was then besieging Gloucester, came for one day to Oxford, purposely to decide the question, and commanded that he should be sent for, together with the Earl of Holland, who had left the rebel army with him, and had now accompanied him in his journey. Charles received him graciously, and not only readily granted his request of pardon, which he soon after prudently took out under the great Seal, but accepted his offer of personal service; and, having joined the royal army, he was present in the first battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, where, says Lord Clarendon, "he charged in the King's regiment of horse very bravely, and behaved himself throughout very well." He returned to Oxford with the

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King, who treated him with a marked condescension, and even apparent confidence, but the carriage of the Court and Council towards him was less complaisant. He became disgusted, and on the following Christmas day, rather in the character of a visitor than a partisan, once more joined the Earl of Essex, who then lay with his army at St. Albans. He had in the mean time secretly, as Lord Clarendon observes, "made his peace at Westminster," whither he repaired soon after, to his own house, and was, for form's sake, committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod; a sequestration was put also on his estates, which, however, together with his person, were presently released. Those whom the fortune of war had converted into rulers, satisfied with having detached him from the royal cause, required no further active service from him, and he buried himself in retirement till the total extinction of the rebellion.

In the spring of 1660, when the Peers once more met, preparatory to the Restoration, he joined them with becoming cheerfulness, and lent a steady and sincere aid to that great measure. He remained however unemployed, either in court or ministry, till his death, and seems to have observed an honest neutrality amidst the factions which distracted the three reigns under which he was destined yet to live. In the innumerable tracts which have issued from the press on the subject of that conspiracy which unhappily deprived him of his eldest son, his name is never mentioned, save than to state that he offered a hundred thousand pounds to the Duchess of Portsmouth to prevail on the King to spare a life so precious to him, and to record the bitter taunt which he flung at James the second, when in the last agonies of his expiring sovereignty. "My Lord," said that miserable Prince, when for the last time he called about him the few eminent persons who had not yet joined his adversary, "you are a good man: you have much interest with the Peers: you can do me service with them to-day." The Earl, with a pardonable vengeance, replied, "Alas, Sir, I am old and

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useless—but I once had a son, who might have served your Majesty on this occasion.”

When the Prince and Princess of Orange mounted the Throne he was sworn of their Privy Council ; was soon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Middlesex ; and on the eleventh of May, 1694, was advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford. He married Anne, daughter and heir, as has been before observed, to Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and had issue by her six sons, and three daughters. Francis, the eldest son, who died in 1679, unmarried ; William, who perished on the scaffold on the twenty-first of July, 1683, from whom the present noble Duke is lineally descended ; Edward, and Robert, both of whom married, but died childless ; James, and George, also married, but from whom no male issue now remains. The daughters were Anne, who died unmarried ; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly, to William, Lord Allington in Ireland ; and Margaret, wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford. The Duke, their father, died on the seventh of September, 1700, and was buried with his ancestors at Cheyneys, in the county of Bucks. Some account of his character is to be found in a sermon, preached on the occasion of his death, by Samuel Freeman, D. D. rector of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and as nothing to the same purpose occurs elsewhere in print, I will insert a few passages from it, without apologising for their triteness and redundancies.

“ Who can sufficiently admire or fully imitate the sweetness of his temper, and the benignity of his nature ; The greatness of his birth made him the more humble ; the height of his condition did not exalt his mind ; there was nothing of pride and fastidiousness in his conversation ; ’twas all condescension, without being mean and cheap. That man had a great deal of demerit in him indeed that was wholly refused admittance into his presence, and none ever went uneasy out of it whose requests were

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reasonable, and their persons not unworthy. Nothing but sin had his frown. The good actions of men had his praise; their weakness his excuse; their afflictions his pity; and their distresses his succour. His piety towards God was sincere and unaffected; his devotions in the closet daily; in public constant, uniform, and regular. He had indeed a charitable opinion of all good men who did not come up in all points to the Church of England, but he utterly disliked schism and separation. His religion was inward; in reality and substance, not placed in externals. He was very much for unity and peace in the Church; but his opinion was that they might be preserved by a mutual forbearance in matters of ceremony without a rigid imposition of them, and he was wont to say that he thought it equally superstitious to shew too much zeal, either for or against them; but, whilst he “made known his moderation unto all men,” and bestowed his favours too upon many whom he judged conscientious though of a different persuasion he ever in his practice kept close to the Church of England. You might see him, unless prevented by sickness, or other necessary occasion, every Lord’s day at church, and there behaving himself with the greatest devotion, strictest attention, and humblest reverence, especially at the blessed sacrament; communicating frequently; always on his knees, and with most ardent affections; and ever expressing a great uneasiness and dissatisfaction when unexpected accidents kept him, as he used sensibly to call it, from “the food of his soul.”

“Here was the family wherein not an oath nor a profane jest could be heard; where sobriety was habitual, virtue and religion triumphed, and the worship of God daily and devoutly performed; and so highly conducive did he think the public worship of God to be, for the glory of God, and salvation of souls, that he gave such orders for the affairs of his family on the Lord’s day that most of his servants were at liberty timely to attend upon it, and none of them wholly let and hindered from it. The concern also he had for God’s house was answerable to the veneration he had

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for his worship. He was always ready to promote any design for the erecting chapels and churches where there were none, and increasing the number of them where they were thin. In the time of the civil war, when every thing almost of order and decency was called superstition, as he was passing by where the possessed soldiers were pulling down part of a church, and the ornaments of it, and asked of him to give them something to encourage the work, he said to those about him, " my father and I have built several churches, and, by the help of God, I'll pull none down." His beneficence and alms were of the same piece with his piety. He was never backward to forgive; always ready to distribute. His charity, like that of God's, was universal; not confined to sects and parties, but flowing abundantly towards all men, yet discreetly placed and proportioned, according as men's needs and capacities presented, giving most where it was most wanted and where it might be to the best purposes. He loved good Christians, of what denomination soever, many of which subsisted by his bounty; and for others, whose virtue was suspected, and their conversation of no good report, whilst he hated hypocrisy and vice, he relieved their persons, shewing himself a true friend to mankind, and a benefactor to the human nature. It was his daily prayer that, next to the pardon of his sins, God would give him an easy passage; and God was pleased to hear his prayer: never did person leave the world with greater inward peace, a more resigned mind, with less struggle and discomfiture, and with more assured hopes of a joyful resurrection, than he did. His lamp of life was not blown out: the oil wasted by degrees, and the flame went out: nature was quite tired and spent, and he fell asleep."

RACHAEL WRIOTHESLEY,

LADY RUSSELL.

THE story of Lady Russell, with the exception of one lamentable particular, is confined to private life, and yet, so transcendent were her merits in every relation of existence, and in every point of view, that almost all circumstances which could be gathered concerning her have been carefully preserved, and few persons, especially of her lovely sex, have been more largely celebrated. Her character indeed excelled not only that of woman, but that of man also, for it seems to have involved all the virtues, and all the talents, of both sexes. To a lofty courage and magnanimity it united the most feminine tenderness and mildness, and sweetened and relieved a sagacity which sometimes amounted almost to wisdom, with the simplicity and candour of an amiable child. To these, in her happier days, was added a cheerfulness, constant because it was always innocent, and, throughout the whole of her life, a patience and resignation which never for a moment left her, because they flowed from the purest piety. A series of her letters, which was printed in 1773, and republished in the following year, and a further collection, which appeared in 1819, with a biographical essay prefixed, from the pen of an accomplished female, will amply justify the tribute which we have thus paid to Lady Russell's excellence.

She was the second daughter and coheir of that minister of spotless honesty, Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of his family, and Lord Treasurer, by his first lady, Rachael, daughter of Henry de Massey, Baron de Rouvigni, a French Protestant Nobleman, to whose care the professors of that faith in France intrusted the interests of their church both there

and in England. She was born about the year 1636, and, her mother having died in her infancy, her education is said to have been neglected, a report the correctness of which is rendered at least very doubtful by the language and method of expression used in her epistles. In 1653 she was married to Francis, Lord Vaughan, heir apparent of Richard, Earl of Carbery, a Peer of Ireland. Of this young nobleman, or of the circumstances which led to their union, we have no intelligence whatever, except a trifling notice in one of her letters, from which it may be inferred that he was of a slow and indolent disposition. She had by him an only child, born in 1665, which not long survived it's birth, and he, about two years after, leaving her a widow, she went to live with her elder sister, Elizabeth, Lady Noel, afterwards Countess of Gainsborough, in her mansion at Titchfield in Hants. Here she first attracted the notice, and then the affection, of the Honourable William Russell, at that time second son of William, fifth Earl, and afterwards first Duke, of Bedford, and became his wife in the end of the year 1669.

Certainly never was matrimonial union blessed for several years with more perfect felicity. Russell, who was about the age of twenty-five at the time of their marriage, and who had indulged in a freedom of life which bordered upon libertinism, became a pattern for domestic conduct, and they appear to have lived together as much, and in as much privacy, as the forms of society could permit to persons of their rank. When separated, letters were continually passing between them, filled, not with extravagant professions of affection, but with those lively and elegant trifles which love so readily coins into a rich interchange, and which were afterwards diversified, not superseded, by the never failing topic of all that was done and said by the three children with which Providence soon blessed them. Thus, in greater bliss perhaps than mortals can merit, passed their days, till Russell weakly condescended to lend his countenance, and great name, to a desperate faction, bent on the reproduction of that anarchy

which had been but so lately subdued ; and to become the tool of the sour republican Sidney ; the wholly unprincipled Shaftesbury ; and the senseless Monmouth. Of the part which he, who had now, by the death of his elder brother, become heir to the titles and estates of his exalted house, unhappily took in the desperate machinations of these men, our histories of the time teem with reports and misrepresentations ; and, as a sketch of his life has already appeared in this work, nothing need be further said of it in this place than that he was arrested and imprisoned in the beginning of July, 1683, on a charge of high treason.

It is but reasonable to suppose that Lady Russell, amply as she enjoyed his confidence, was ignorant of the share that he had actually taken in the plot on which this accusation was grounded : of the general character however of the political inclinations which had recommended him to the conspirators, and rendered him an easy prey to those artifices by which he had been misled to join them, it is impossible that she could have been unconscious ; yet such was her prudence, that not the slightest allusion to that disposition appears in any of her letters, either to himself or others, except in a single instance, and even that is wholly unexplained by any context—in one, of the twenty-second of November, 1681, she says “ be wise as a serpent, harmless as a dove.” The time had now nearly arrived in which she was called on to display all the energies of her nature ; to bring into action a courage which had hitherto lain dormant for want of necessary occasions ; to disguise a tenderness, the show of which would have broken his heart ; and to conceal a sorrow which was breaking her own.

On the thirteenth of July, 1683, he was brought to trial at the Old Bailey. To the astonishment of all present, Lady Russell accompanied him, and, with a gravity suited to the place and the occasion, seated herself beside him, amidst the tears and sighs of the spectators, she herself alone appearing unmoved ; while her husband, desirous of heightening the effect of the scene to the utmost, and knowing how well her part in it would be performed,

requested the Chief Justice Pemberton, who presided, that he might have a person to take notes for him. Pemberton replied "any of your servants shall assist you in writing any thing you please," on which Russell said "my wife is here to do it," when she rose in the face of the Court, and, advancing with the modest dignity of an angel to the place appointed for her, prepared to commence her task. She heard his conviction and sentence of death pronounced, and accompanied him to his prison, with the same apparent composure. Arrived there, she canvassed coolly with him the possibilities of obtaining a mitigation of punishment, or, in order to it, at least a postponement of execution. Lord Russell said, as we are informed by Burnet, who attended him constantly, from his trial to his death, "that he wished she would give over beating every bush, and running so about for his preservation; but, when he considered that it would be some mitigation of her sorrow that she left nothing undone that could have given any probable hopes, he acquiesced."

All however was in vain, and he had notice to prepare to die on the twenty-first of July. "At eleven o'clock the night before," says Burnet again, "my Lady left him. He kissed her four or five times, and she kept her sorrows so within herself that she gave him no disturbance at their parting. After she was gone, he said now the bitterness of death was passed, and ran out into a long discourse concerning her—how great a blessing she had been to him: and said what a misery it would have been if she had not had that magnanimity of spirit, joined to her tenderness, as never to have desired him to do a base thing for the saving of his life: "whereas otherwise," said he, "what a week I should have passed if she had been crying out on me to turn informer." He said there was a signal providence of God in giving him such a wife, where there was birth, fortune, great understanding, great religion, and a great kindness to him; but her carriage in this extremity went beyond all. He said he was glad that she, and her children, were to lose nothing by his death, and it was a great

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comfort to him that he left his children in such a mother's hands ; and that she had promised him to take care of herself for their sakes, which," says the Bishop, " I heard her do."

The King caused to be repeated to her, immediately after the death of her Lord, the intimation here alluded to, that he did not mean to profit by Russell's attainder, and her passionate love for her children put on her the painful task of offering some show of thanks. She wrote in consequence to her uncle, John Russell, Colonel of the first regiment of Horse Guards—" I esteem it fit to make some compliment of acknowledgement to his Majesty. To do this for me is the favour I beg of you ; but I have written the inclosed paper in such a manner that, if you judge it fit, you may, as you see cause, show it to the King, to let him see what thanks I desire may be made him, but this is left to do as you approve." Lord Halifax, writing to her immediately after, says " I have not seen Colonel Russell, to speak to him concerning the letter your Ladyship mentioned ; but, according to my present thoughts, if he delivereth a compliment from you to his Majesty, by your order, it may be less liable to inconvenience or exception than any thing that is put on paper." Charles's omission to interdict any acknowledgement on her part is a proof of his unfeeling heart.

She retired into the country, and now gave way in solitude to her sorrows. On the thirteenth of September, two months after her great calamity, she wrote to Doctor Fitzwilliam, the chaplain and dear friend for many years to her late father and his family, and we find in her letter these exquisite effusions of genuine nature, and holy philosophy—" You, that knew us both, and how we lived, must allow I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common to others to lose a friend ; but to have lived with such a one, it may be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so consequently lament the like loss. Who can but shrink from such a blow !" And, a little after—" Lord, let me understand the reason of these dark and wounding providences,

that I sink not under the discouragement of my own thoughts. I know I have deserved my punishment, and will be silent under it ; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too sadly I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, to eat and sleep with. All these things are irksome to me : the day unwelcome, and the night so too. All company and meals I would avoid, if it might be. Yet all this is that I enjoy not the world in my own way, and this sure hinders my comfort. When I see my children before me, I remember the pleasure he took in them : this makes my heart shrink. Can I regret his quitting a lesser good for a greater ? Oh, if I did but believe, I could not be dejected ; for I will not injure myself to say I offer my mind any inferior consolation to supply this loss. No, I most willingly forsake this world, this vexatious troublesome world, in which I have no other business but to rid my soul of sin ; secure by faith and a good conscience my eternal interests ; with patience and courage bear my eminent misfortune ; and ever hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of fortune."

Her patience indeed was equal to her courage, and the sweetness of her temper perhaps superior to both. We meet not in her letters with any invective, or expression of complaint, even against those to whom the life of her Lord had been sacrificed, and she seems to have studiously avoided any intercourse with those of the faction which he had unhappily embraced. Her countenance and favour were however thought worth courting by the Prince of Orange, even in the commencement of his designs on the Crown of England. Dykevelt, his Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, had special orders upon his coming, in 1686, to wait on her ; to condole with her on the death of her Lord ; and to assure her that he offered these greetings, not in his private capacity, but as William's accredited minister. Soon after the revolution, as might have been with certainty expected, the highest favours were showered on her husband's family. The Earl, his father, was

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raised to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford; her only son, then in his fifteenth year, to that of Baron Howland, of Streatham, in Surrey; and no pains were spared in attempting to atone for an injury which was interpreted to have arisen in a great measure from the affection of the sufferer to the cause of the new King.

Lady Russell had yet to encounter severe trials. Her only son, Wriothesley, who had succeeded his grandfather in the Dukedom, and was happily married, and generally beloved and respected, fell a sacrifice to a virulent small-pox in 1711, having barely passed his thirtieth year: the second of her two daughters, Catherine, Duchess of Rutland, died shortly after, in childbirth of her tenth child; and here we have another remarkable proof at once of the tenderness and the firmness of Lady Russell's character. Her eldest daughter, Rachael, Duchess of Devonshire, being at the same time confined on a similar occasion, and making anxious and importunate inquiries of her after the state of her sister's health, the incomparable parent replied, without a moment's hesitation—"Your sister is very well; I have this morning seen her out of bed;" and it was true, for she had seen her in her coffin.

Lady Russell died on the twenty-ninth of September, 1723, at the great age of eighty-seven, and was buried, with her Lord, in the family vault, at Chenies, in Bucks.

JOHN JERVIS,

EARL OF ST. VINCENT.

THIS distinguished officer was the second son of Swynfen Jervis, Barrister at law, Counsel to the Admiralty, and Auditor of Greenwich Hospital, by Elizabeth, daughter of George Parker, of Park-hall, in Staffordshire, and sister of Sir Thomas Parker, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and was born on the ninth of January 1734 at Meaford, in the parish of Stone, in that county, where his family had been settled for some generations.

It was the design of his father to educate him for his own profession, but, owing probably to his connection with the Admiralty, he was induced to enter him in the navy at the early age of ten years. He sailed some time after in the Gloucester, bearing the broad pendant of the Hon. George Townshend, to the West Indies, and in 1755 obtained the rank of lieutenant, and was taken, under the patronage of Sir Charles Saunders, to the Mediterranean. In 1757 he was appointed to act in command of the Experiment, of twenty guns, during an illness of Sir John Strachan, and had the good fortune to engage a Moorish xebec of superior force in an action which gained him much honour. In 1759, having resumed his station as lieutenant under Sir Charles Saunders, he sailed with that celebrated commander to the successful attack of Quebec, and, for his good conduct in that memorable service, was promoted to the command of the Porcupine sloop, and, on his return to England, advanced to the rank of post captain. Many years of peace succeeded, but on the breaking out of what is called the American war, he received in 1774 the command of the Foudroyant, of eighty guns; was employed in the British channel, to keep in check the cruisers

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of our revolted colonies ; and, when hostilities commenced with France, shared in the action off Ushant, as one of the seconds to Admiral Keppel. In April, 1782, while one of the advanced squadron of Admiral Barrington, the *Foudroyant* had the good fortune to bring to action the *Pegase*, of seventy-four guns, one of the sternmost ships of the enemy, which was long defended with great bravery, in face of the whole English fleet, till the French captain was compelled to surrender to superior force, and for this service Captain Jervis was rewarded with the Order of the Bath. In the same year, he accompanied Lord Howe to the relief of Gibraltar, and partook in his action with the combined fleet of the enemy.

Soon after his return to England, on the conclusion of peace in the following year, he was elected to represent the borough of North Yarmouth in Parliament, where he took an active part in the whig politics of that period, and considerably increased his reputation by the readiness with which he engaged in all discussions relating to his profession. In 1787 he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral of the Blue, and, upon the armament of 1790, he hoisted his flag in the *Prince George*, of ninety guns. Upon the commencement of the French revolutionary war, in 1793, he was one of the first officers called into active service, and was appointed to the command of the naval force sent to the West Indies, to co-operate with the army under Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Grey, in reducing the French colonies. Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, fell successively into their possession in the spring of 1794, with scarcely any loss to the captors. For this service the two commanders received the thanks of Parliament, but scarcely had the vote passed, when such heavy charges were preferred by the West India merchants against them, that the government deemed it prudent to submit their conduct to the investigation of the House of Commons, and the inquiry excited great clamour, and very warm and animated debates. The captors were charged with seizing private property, and levying

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contributions, which, when known to the administration at home, was immediately discountenanced ; and, though the articles of accusation against the two commanders-in-chief were finally negatived by a considerable majority, much unpopularity continued to adhere to them, and all parties deeply regretted the cause of these discussions.

Sir John Jervis having returned to England, and the parliamentary enquiry having terminated, he was appointed, at the close of the year 1795, Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet, and proceeded, in the *Victory*, to discharge that duty off Corsica in January following. It was now that the talents of this able officer were to be exercised, and the resources of his active mind displayed, under circumstances of no common difficulty. The British fleet on that station had hitherto gained little credit by its operations. The French had at Toulon twenty sail of the line ready to put to sea, while the force placed at the disposal of Sir John Jervis scarcely exceeded half that number. The aspect of all public affairs, abroad and at home, was dark and lowering, and the English ministry were beset with great political difficulties, as well as by financial embarrassments. In their instructions to the Admiral he was directed “ to guard against the junction of the French and Spanish fleets ; to protect the territories of our Portuguese ally ; to provide against any attack on Gibraltar ; and to counteract any design of invading England or Ireland.” In consequence of the rapid successes at this critical juncture of the French armies, Corsica was held only by the power of the sword. It had become necessary to concentrate our naval forces, and the British government having determined to abandon that important island, this delicate service was intrusted by Sir John Jervis to Nelson, whom he now met at St. Fiorenzo bay, and was delighted to find all his prepossessions in favour of that extraordinary man fully confirmed by this personal acquaintance with his merits. Leaving some of the most active frigates to watch Leghorn and Genoa, and to keep open a com-

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munication with the Austrian army of Wurmser, he appointed a rich convoy from Smyrna to rendezvous at St. Fiorenzo, and, directing each of his line of battle ships to take one of them in tow, he thus proceeded with his slender force, expecting every moment to fall in with the combined fleet of the enemy, but at length happily reached Gibraltar, with his convoy, in safety. In the mean time the British fleet in the Mediterranean had been greatly reduced by losses at sea, as well as by a detachment of six ships of the line, sent under Admiral Mann in pursuit of the French squadron of Richery. These circumstances had so weakened the force commanded by Sir John Jervis, that, on reaching Lisbon, he could collect no more than nine sail of the line to oppose to three of the enemy's fleets which were expected to put to sea. He resolved nevertheless to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, where he expected to receive reinforcements, as well as to take a favourable position to watch the advance of either of the hostile fleets, hoping thus to strike a blow before the junction of the French and Spanish forces should compel him to quit his station.

Owing to baffling winds, he was unable to reach Cape St. Vincent till the sixth of February, 1797, when he had the great satisfaction of being joined by Admiral Parker, with five fresh ships from England; and on the eleventh he was further strengthened by the arrival of Nelson, in the *Minerve* frigate, who, having been chased two days before by a part of the Spanish fleet from Carthage, brought him certain tidings of their approach; Nelson immediately removed his broad pendant to his own ship, the *Captain*, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, late governor of Corsica for the English, who had accompanied him from thence, requested that the frigate which was destined to convey him and his suite to England, should be detained, that he might be gratified with a sight of the expected engagement. In the evening of the thirteenth, the headmost ships of the enemy were clearly descried by the look-out frigates, and the dawn of the memorable morning of

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St. Valentine opened a splendid scene to our gallant countrymen. Every heart was animated with the prospect of victory, and felt that he who “outstood the conflict, and came safe home, would stand on tiptoe when the day was mentioned, and rouse him at the name of Valentine.”

The whole Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Josef Cordova, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line and ten frigates, were now seen advancing, the British fully prepared to meet them with fifteen ships, and four frigates. Sir John Jervis was well aware of the responsibility of engaging them with a force so inferior; but, as he stated in his public dispatch, “the honour of his Majesty’s arms, and the circumstances of the war in those seas, required a considerable degree of enterprize,” and he had a well-founded confidence in the officers and men whom he had the honour to command. Seeing the ships of his opponent much scattered, twelve of which were separated from the main body, he instantly perceived his advantage, and, determining to pass between them, made the signal accordingly. The action began a little before noon; Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, leading the fleet with his accustomed gallantry, and opening his fire on the enemy’s ships to windward as he passed. The rest of the British line following in close order, and tacking in succession, stood along the weather division, and thus effectually prevented those to leeward from taking part in the engagement. The headmost ships of the English fleet thus bore the brunt of the action; but Nelson, ever on the watch for glory, though stationed in the rear, kept his eye, as they bore down, on the Spanish Admiral; and, perceiving that he was preparing to wear round the rear of the British line, to join his ships to leeward, resolved to frustrate his purpose, even at the risque of his own commission, by disobeying the order of sailing. Instantly quitting the line, he steered direct for the Admiral’s ship, the Santissima Trinidad, with which he was soon hotly engaged, receiving at the same time the fire of two three-deckers near her. No sooner did our leading ships

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perceive Nelson's critical position, than his old friends, Troubridge and Collingwood, with others, carried all sail to his support. By this time however his ship was so disabled that she fell alongside the *San Nicolas*, of eighty guns, which Nelson instantly boarded, and, passing from her into the *San Josef*, of an hundred and twelve, carried both ships sword in hand. Meanwhile two others had struck their colours ; most of those which were already beaten had fallen to leeward ; and the victory was evidently gained ; still several of the Spanish ships which had not suffered in the action kept together, presenting a formidable front ; and, as the day was now far spent, Jervis judged it prudent to cover his own crippled ships, and secure the prizes in his possession, and therefore threw out the signal to his fleet to bring to. Some of the Spaniards made a show of further defence, but soon followed the flying ships and left their captured comrades to their fate.

In this important victory the disparity of force was more than counterbalanced by the great want of seamanship on the part of the Spaniards. The British Admiral fell in with their fleet so scattered and confused, that a glance of his penetrating eye enabled him to choose a mode of attack which at once disarmed them of all the advantage of superior numbers ; and so effectually was this manœuvre accomplished, that the great blow was struck by little more than half his own force, of which the return of killed and wounded in our fleet, though not always a just criterion, afforded in this case ample evidence. The victory of *St. Vincent* was achieved at a moment of peculiar anxiety to the British Councils, as may indeed be inferred from the extraordinary measure of gratitude lavished on the victors : of these, Sir John Jervis was at once raised from the station of a Commoner to the degree of an Earl, with an annual pension of three thousand pounds, while proportionate honours were bestowed on the principal officers of the fleet. Considerable dissatisfaction however was felt among them when they were informed of the total silence of the Admiral's dispatch respecting the individual merits of those who

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most distinguished themselves on the occasion. Even Nelson was not named; though in his Lordship's private letter to Earl Spencer, who then presided at the Admiralty, he stated that "Commodore Nelson took the lead on the larboard tack, and contributed much to the fortune of the day." A more explicit acknowledgement of his heroic conduct was conveyed in the following letter to their mutual friend Captain Locker, to whom Nelson owed his first introduction to the writer—

"MY DEAR LOCKER, Victory, Lagos Bay, 18 Feb. 1797.

I know you will be desirous of a line from me, and, though I have not time to give you anything like detail, I cannot resist telling you that your élève, Commodore Nelson, received the swords of the commanders of a first rate, and eighty gun ship, of the enemy on their respective quarter-decks. As you will probably see Mrs. Parker, give my love to her, although unknown; and say that the junction of her husband, with the squadron under his command, I must ever consider as the happiest event of my life. Say everything kind to your young men, and be assured I am

Ever truly your's,

Lt. Governor Locker, Greenwich Hospital.

JOHN JERVIS."

The Spanish fleet having reached Cadiz on the third of March, he commenced a close blockade of that port, and, while so employed, the mutinous spirit which had broken out among the seamen in England was communicated to his fleet, but the promptitude and vigour with which he at once grappled with this, the most formidable of all the enemies the British Navy ever had to encounter, soon quelled those symptoms of disaffection which at one time threatened to destroy our whole maritime strength at home. The timely execution off Cadiz of a few of the most rebellious spirits completely restored subordination, of which Earl St. Vincent was ever a severe observer. As the most effectual means of diverting the attention of the seamen, the Admiral, finding the

Spaniards not disposed to put to sea, directed Nelson to bombard them at their anchorage; and, some weeks after, detached him, with a small squadron, to the island of Teneriffe, to seize three register ships, laden with an immense treasure from Mexico: but the Spanish governor, apprized of the design, repelled the attack with great gallantry, and afterwards treated with much humanity those of the assailants who became his prisoners, when Nelson, and many of his brave followers, were wounded, and driven back to their ships, with great loss.

The eventful year of 1798 opened with the formidable expedition to Egypt, which had long been preparing at Toulon, and the destination of which had baffled to the very last the anxious conjectures of the British ministry. Nelson, who by his former services had so justly gained the confidence of the Earl, having now recovered of his wound, rejoined him at this time from England, and was immediately dispatched, under the express injunction of Earl Spencer, with three ships of the line and four frigates, to watch the enemy's motions at Toulon; and upon the arrival of expected reinforcements from England, his squadron was augmented with ten more ships, the élite of the fleet, to enable him to cope with the French, wheresoever their course might be directed, himself meanwhile being charged to give his whole attention to those operations without the Mediterranean which more nearly concerned the public safety at home. It is scarcely necessary to remark that the wisdom of this selection, which gave much umbrage to Nelson's seniors in the fleet, was fully proved by the subsequent victory of the Nile, which, not only as a naval achievement, but in it's political consequences, proved one of the most important events of the war.

The health of Lord St. Vincent being much affected by the laborious and anxious services intrusted to his direction, he returned to England in the following year, and, being thus recruited, he was appointed to the chief command of the Channel fleet in 1800. The change of administration which presently

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followed brought into power many of those political friends with whom he had steadily acted in Parliament, and he was included in the new government by being placed at the head of the Admiralty. During the period in which he held that important station, he devoted indefatigable attention to the reformation of the civil department of the navy, and for this object obtained a commission of inquiry, under the authority of the legislature, for the more effectual investigation of those abuses of which loud complaints had been made; and, though the manner in which these measures were pursued was not wholly free from error or injustice, there can be no question that the naval service derived important advantages from the rigorous, and indeed unpopular proceedings which were instituted.

On the return to power of Mr. Pitt, in 1804, the Earl retired from the ministry; and in 1806 resumed the command of the Channel fleet, and, hoisting the union flag on board of the *Hibernia*, proceeded to make off Ushant that vigorous disposition of the force under his orders which proved the unimpaired vigour of his mind. His health however failing, he finally resigned his command in February, 1807, and thenceforward but rarely engaged even in the political duties of the House of Peers. He had for many years enjoyed the favour of his present Majesty, and, as a special mark of royal distinction, received, in 1821, a commission appointing him an Admiral of the Fleet. In the following summer his Lordship took the occasion of the King's embarkation for Scotland to pay his duty to his Sovereign on board the royal yacht, off Greenwich. This was his last appearance in public, though he enjoyed remarkable vigour of understanding to the very close of his life, which occurred at his seat of Rochetts, in the county of Essex, on the fifteenth of March, 1823, in the ninetieth year of his age.

The Earl of St. Vincent married, after a courtship of thirty years, his first cousin, Martha, daughter of Lord Chief Baron Parker, in default of issue by whom his dignities of Earl and

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Baron became extinct, but that of Viscount St. Vincent, of Meaford, in the county of Stafford, which had been granted to him on the twenty-seventh of April, 1801, devolved, by virtue of a special remainder, on his nephew, William Henry Ricketts (son of his second surviving sister, and of her husband, William Henry Ricketts, of the Island of Jamaica) by whose next brother, Edward, it is now enjoyed.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY,

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IT has been, I believe, remarked in some other part of this work that the lives of persons of constant and exalted virtue furnish subjects unfavourable to the pen of the biographer, and the observation is largely justified by the memorials, or rather deficiency of memorials, which have been preserved of this nobleman, probably one of the greatest, and certainly one of the best, men of his time. The details of his private, and indeed of his public, life are meagre and uninteresting; but two eminent writers, of minds, and tempers, and principles, different almost to contrariety; the one a loyalist, of severe justice and truth, tempered by cordial kindness; the other a factious partisan, and censorious, even to malignity; have so nearly agreed in the views which they have left us of his character, that no room is left for doubt of its excellence.

He was the second, but only surviving, son of Henry, the third Earl, the friend of Essex, and patron of Shakespeare, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire. His education commenced at Eton school, was completed at Magdalen College, in Oxford, which he left with the fame of considerable erudition and general learning, and went to the continent, and long sojourned in France, where he probably married his first Lady, and afterwards in the Low Countries, taking no part however, as it should seem, in the military affairs which then distracted that unhappy land. Soon after his return, he became disgusted at some of the high measures of the government, with the additional motive of having received some personal offence from it, and had a particular prejudice against the Earl of

Strafford. The leaders therefore of the discontented party in Parliament applied themselves to him with the utmost eagerness and courtesy, and spared no pains to obtain his countenance and support, but he presently discerned the disloyalty which lurked at the root of their designs, and abandoned, or rather in a great measure forbore to take any concern, in their councils or transactions. We scarcely hear of him therefore in public affairs till the year 1641, when he, and an other peer, the Lord Robartes, refused their assent to the protestation against plots and conspiracies proposed by Mr. Pym, which was, on the third of May, in that year signed by every other member present at the time in each of the two Houses. This first demonstration of principles from which he never after in the smallest degree swerved was furiously resented by the Commons, who presently voted that "what person soever who should not take the protestation was unfit to bear office in the Church or Commonwealth." He was soon after sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed a Lord of the King's Bedchamber; attended Charles on his final departure from London in the autumn; and became from that time the King's chief secret adviser in all important matters relating to either; while he published without hesitation his firm attachment to the Crown by making himself a party in almost all negotiations with the Parliament.

The warmth of this unalterable disposition in him was however tempered by a happy mixture of prudence. Thus, though with great difficulty, he prevailed on Charles, soon after he set up his standard at Nottingham, to make an offer of peace to the Parliament. So averse was he to this step that Southampton, who slept in his chamber on the night that it was decided on, declared that the King had passed it sleepless, and in agony; and he is reported to have burst into tears when he consented to the measure. The Earl was himself the messenger, accompanied by two members of the House of Commons, and the insolence of the rebels on this occasion is well known. On his entering the House

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of Peers, he was not allowed to take his seat, and having been in a manner turned out, they sent a gentleman usher after him to require his message, to whom he replied, that he had been commanded by the King to deliver it himself, and must do so, unless prohibited by a positive order from the House, which they instantly voted. He sent it accordingly by their officer, who presently after returned with their direction "that he should, at his peril, immediately depart the town, and that they would take care that their answer should be sent to him." Such was the first of the long series of indignities which Charles was doomed to receive at the hands of his infatuated Parliament.

The management of the fruitless treaty with the rebel commissioners at Oxford in 1643 was committed chiefly to Southampton. Whitelock tells us that he stood by the King daily during the progress of it, whispering to him and advising him; in the succeeding year he was appointed one of the Council for the Prince of Wales; and was soon after sent, with the Duke of Richmond, to London, to settle with the two Houses of Parliament, and the Deputies from Scotland, the preliminaries for the treaty of Uxbridge, which speedily followed, and for which also he was appointed a commissioner, and was peculiarly distinguished by his discretion and activity in that character. When Charles fled from Hampton Court in November 1647, in the fatally vain hope of quitting England, he took a short refuge in Southampton's house in Titchfield, in Hampshire; and when soon after he returned to the same palace, in bondage in the hands of the army, one of his first requests was that he might be allowed to have the attendance of that nobleman. Southampton was perhaps the very last of the faithful servants who were torn from his person, and was certainly one of the four who were permitted to pay the last solemn duties, in darkness and privacy, to the royal remains.

He was permitted, such is the respect which exemplary goodness may extort even from the worst of mankind, to remain in

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England in peace and safety, and contrived to maintain with impunity a useful correspondence with the young King, whom he supplied from time to time with great sums. On the Restoration, he was received with every mark of kindness and gratitude by the King, who, on his way to London, invested him at Canterbury with the Order of the Garter, into which he had been several years before elected, and, shortly after, appointed him Lord High Treasurer. Of his conduct in the immediate affairs of that office we shall presently have some report from an acute contemporary of his, and it seems to have been his desire to confine to them as much as possible his whole ministerial attention, for he had a spirit which could not condescend to mix in the contemptible intrigues and factions which disgraced most of the statesmen and courtiers of that reign. He was of the Committee appointed by the King for the negotiation of the treaty of marriage to Catherine of Braganza, after which we scarcely hear of him till 1663, when he opposed to his utmost, both in the Council and in Parliament, the bill for liberty of conscience, as it was called, by which Charles proposed to allow, in fact to sell for money, an universal toleration. The King was highly offended, but the Treasurer was not removed; nor could all the efforts of a party, not less crafty than powerful, which then surrounded the throne, and which immediately seized the opportunity, and rose against him, prevail on Charles to dismiss him, and so he held the office for the brief remainder of his life.

His dear and most intimate friend Lord Clarendon has left us the following character of him—"The Earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the King's cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and, being born a younger brother, and his father and elder brother dying upon the point together whilst he was but a boy, he was at first much troubled to be called "my Lord," and with the noise of attendance, so much he then delighted to be alone. He had a great spirit. He never had any conversation

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in the Court, nor obligation to it; on the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it, which made it believed that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. He was a man of great sharpness of judgement, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate, that no man delivered himself more advantageously and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon, the Court, or purpose to have any, but wholly pursued the public interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bedchamber, and refused both honours the rather, because after he had refused a protestation which both Houses had ordered to be taken by all their members they had likewise voted that no man should be capable of any preferment in Church or State who refused to take the same, and he would shew how much he contemned those votes. He went with the King to York; was most solicitous for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was with him at Edge Hill; and came and staid with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war."

Bishop Burnet, who hated monarchy and royalists, says "the Earl of Southampton was a man of great virtue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehension and a good judgement. He had merited much by his constant adhering to the King's (Charles the second's) interest during the war, and by the large supplies he had sent him every year during his exile, for he had a great estate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treasurer, but he soon grew weary of business, for he was subject to the stone, which returned often and violently upon him, and

he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent measures of the Court. When he saw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of spoiling business, he grew very uneasy, and kept himself more out of the way than was consistent with that high post. The King stood in some awe of him, and saw how popular he would grow if put out of his service, and therefore he chose rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction than to dismiss him. He was an incorrupt man, and, during seven years' management of the treasury, made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Restoration the Lord Treasurer had but a small salary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather sold, all the subaltern places, and made great profits out of the estate of the Crown; but now, that estate being gone, and the Earl of Southampton disdaining to sell places, the matter was settled so that the Lord Treasurer was to have eight thousand pounds a year, and the King was to name all the subaltern officers. It continued to be so all his time; but, since that time, the Lord Treasurer has both the eight thousand pounds, and a main hand in the disposing of those places."

This nobleman was thrice married; first to Rachel, daughter of Daniel de Massey, Lord of Rouvigny, in France, by whom he had two sons, Charles and Henry, who died young; and three daughters; Elizabeth, married to Edward Noel, eldest son to Baptist, Viscount Campden; Rachel, first to Francis, son and heir to Richard, Earl of Carbery in Ireland, secondly to William, third son, but at length heir apparent to William, first Duke of Bedford of that family; and Magdalen, who died an infant. His second Countess was Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to Francis Booth, Lord Dunsmore, afterwards created Earl of Chichester, who brought him four daughters; three of whom, Audrey, Pene-lope, and another Penelope, his youngest child, died young and unmarried, and Elizabeth, the third, was first married to Jocelyn Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and secondly to Ralph, son and

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heir to Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton. The Earl of Southampton was married, thirdly, to Frances, daughter to William Seymour second Duke of Somerset of his family, and widow of Richard, Viscount Molyneux in Ireland. He died at Southampton House, in Bloomsbury Square, on the sixteenth of May, 1667, of a violent attack of the cruel malady mentioned by Burnet, and was buried at Tichfield.

KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

A CROWN has seldom been inherited, perhaps never regained, with fairer prospects than those which marked the actual accession of this Prince to the Throne of his ancestors. Equally welcome to an impoverished and insulted Nobility, to a persecuted Clergy, and to a disappointed People who had long since awaked from their golden dream of the promised effects of successful rebellion, he re-entered his Kingdom almost a stranger, invested with nearly unconditional power, and indebted to mere hope for that love and confidence which his subjects had denied to their experience of his father's virtues. While the despotic conduct of Cromwell produced this desperate disposition at home, his subtlety and firmness had subdued or awed all foreign enemies. Thus the character of the usurper's rule seemed to have blessed, as well as to have forwarded, the restoration, and England was then religious enough to ascribe the whole to a special interference of Providence, and to consider their young King as a chosen instrument of divine favour. Charles availed himself of none of these advantages. He sought not to establish on them either his own greatness, or the happiness of his people, though he loved power, and was not deficient in good will. Most of the qualities of his mind and heart were negative. He did not want penetration, he was not unkind, he was not avaricious, he was not treacherous, he was not obstinate; but then he was neither wise, generous, prudent, candid, nor resolute. He reigned therefore without exciting either love or hatred, and his death provoked neither grief nor joy. Writers have treated his memory with unsparing and unjust severity: they have classed him with wicked Kings, when in fact he was only worthless.

KING CHARLES THE SECOND.

He was born on the 29th of May, 1630, and driven into exile and obscurity before he had reached manhood, with few advantages from an education which had been continually interrupted by the public disorders which distracted his family. In the remnant of a Court which surrounded him in his retreat he found little to strengthen moral principles, or to excite strong affections. It was composed of a very few of the grave old servants of the murdered King; of some younger men of birth, who, in spite of the ruin and proscription in which their master and themselves were involved, giving a loose to their natural disposition to jealousy and intrigue, disturbed him by incessant contests for his barren favour; and of others who, having passed their youth amidst the excesses of an army, sought now to forget their cares in the increased indulgence of a libertinism already habitual to them. Charles, equally gay and indolent, threw himself, pardonably enough, into the arms of these good fellows, as they were then called, and industriously avoided the two former classes. There was a member however of the first whose wisdom, integrity, and perfectly disinterested affection to him and his family, had found their way to his heart. All parties bowed to the exalted qualities of Sir Edward Hyde: his presence was at all times welcome to his master; and while they were together, Charles remembered that he was a King, and became for the time a statesman.

By this great and good man, afterwards better known as Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor, were devised the ministerial arrangements, and the scheme of general policy, which accompanied the restoration. While it comprehended some necessarily strong and even severe measures, it was peculiarly marked by forbearance, and even concession. A bill of indemnity was passed, from the benefit of which very few but those who had actually sat in judgement on the late King were excepted, and another to ratify all decisions in judicial proceedings which had been instituted in the name of the Protector or the Commonwealth. Some rigid dissenters, who had been deeply instrumental

to the origin of the late miseries, were admitted into the Privy Council, and some of their leading ministers into the number of Royal chaplains. Episcopacy, which had indeed never been formally abrogated by the preceding spurious authorities, was but silently suffered to slide into it's former station, while the presbyterians were by an express declaration from the King allowed a certain share in the government of the Church. The folly however of endeavouring to satisfy those people by any conciliation short of an unqualified surrender to them of all power both in Church and State presently became evident, and it was determined to with-hold almost all from those who had resolved to consider a part as no boon. They were excluded in the year following the restoration by the Corporation Act from that universal municipal authority with which the rebellion had invested them, and by the Act of Uniformity not only from any share in the government of the Church, but from all ecclesiastical benefices. Multitudes relinquished their livings rather than submit to the prescribed qualifications; the country looked on with indifference, if not with complacency; and the Catholics, gratified as much by this legally marked division of the reformed into two classes as by the dispersion of that which was most inimical to them, openly exulted, and began to assume the air of a party in the State. Charles, who it is now certain was, as far as his carelessness and levity could allow, a convert to that faith, became secretly their patron, and at this period, 1662, strengthened their influence by marrying, rather in opposition to the advice of his ministers, Catherine of Portugal, a Princess whose person and manners he entirely disliked, and who seems indeed to have possessed no one recommendation to his choice but the devoted attachment of herself and her family to the Papal religion and Crown.

This union was presently succeeded by important consequences. By the treaty lately concluded with Portugal Charles had promised to protect that country against Spain, by which it

was considered and assailed as a rebellious province, and had specifically stipulated never to put Dunkirk into the hands of the Spaniards. The charges of the promised succours presently exhausted a treasury which, as much through the parsimony of Parliament as his own improvidence, had not at any time since his accession been sufficiently supplied, and he determined at once to discharge his engagement as to Dunkirk, and to relieve his own necessity, by selling that celebrated fortress to France. From the date of this alienation the credit of Lord Clarendon, by whose express advice the measure had been adopted, began imperceptibly to decline, not only with the King but with the country. The people considered it, and so indeed it proved, as an overture to a connection of a nature somewhat anomalous with a power against which their jealous prejudices had been constantly directed, and Charles, who since his marriage had become, contrary to general custom, more careless of concealing his voluptuous excesses, had gradually grown weary of the Chancellor's remonstrances against them. A favourite mistress, soon after created Duchess of Cleveland, was now, according to the fashion of France, publicly avowed ; became the known dispenser of all smaller appointments ; and presently acquired a degree of influence even in the direction of state affairs. She united herself of course to Clarendon's enemies, and gradually formed a faction against him, but the time was not yet ripe for his dismissal, and an absurd and premature attack made on him in Parliament, in the shape of an impeachment of High Treason, by the Earl of Bristol, who was the known head of the Catholic party, had the effect rather of postponing than accelerating his fall. The marriage also of his daughter to the Duke of York, afterwards James the second, from which his enemies had promised themselves great results, which indeed were warded off by his own wisdom and integrity, contributed to maintain him in the King's favour.

In the mean time Charles's Parliament seemed to meet but to

enlarge the powers of the Crown and the Church. In 1664 it relinquished the main security for the independent exercise of its own faculties by repealing the celebrated triennial act, and abandoned its privileges by making that concession in compliance with the King's demand, personally expressed in his speech at the opening of the session. Shortly after, a bill was passed extending the prohibitions and penalties of the act of uniformity from the sectarian clergy to their congregations, which it limited to a very small number, subjecting the whole, in case of excess, to fine and imprisonment, increasing in extent on a repetition of the offence, and on a third, even to transportation for seven years. Nothing was denied to the King but money, and of that he is said to have become possessed at this time in a manner by accident. A few years of peace had allowed the nation to direct its attention to trade, and it had at length opened its eyes to the vast natural advantages which it possessed to that end. The Dutch became the objects at once of its envy and its cupidity, and pretences were presently found for an attack on them. The King, who was a naval and military theorist, was easily persuaded to take up the idea; the Duke of York, who longed to distinguish himself in active service, and whom his brother delighted to gratify, seized it with eagerness; and the Parliament, struck by the prospect of enormous spoil which it held forth, sanctioned the measure almost unanimously, and voted nearly twenty-five hundred thousand pounds for the charges of the war for three years, a far larger sum than had ever before been granted to any English King. From this great supply it has been asserted that Charles found the means of relieving his private necessities.

The outline of the story of this war with the United Provinces, which was entirely naval, is well known. The facts which we are most desirous to forget will always be found the most strongly fixed in our recollection, and the humiliating exploit of the Dutch in sailing up the Thames with which it concluded, will outlive in English memory even the admirable bravery by which

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our countrymen were distinguished in it's commencement. The peace of Breda followed, and Clarendon, against whose earnest advice the war had been undertaken, was presently after sacrificed to the ill humour of the nation on it's failure. All parties joined in the persecution of this admirable minister, and the ingratitude of the King afforded a striking proof of the compatibility of an easy temper with an unfeeling heart. The Chancellor was impeached in Parliament; fled from the impending storm; and his voluntary banishment was confirmed and perpetuated by an act of the legislature. It was long before the chasm produced in Charles's counsels by the loss of him became apparently filled up: at length, after various fluctuations, a Cabinet, unhappily permanent, was formed. It consisted of Sir Thomas Clifford, a man remarkable only for his temerity; of the Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, a person so wholly unprincipled that his great talents served but to render him an object of greater dread; of the Duke of Buckingham, a careless wit, a frantic debauchee, and the chief pander to the King's sensual pleasures; of the Lord Arlington, a pliant parasite, of moderate understanding; and of the Earl, soon after Duke, of Lauderdale, notorious only for a disposition at once insolent and abject, hypocritical and furious. Of these, two were catholics, one a deist, one a bigoted presbyterian, and another completely without either religious or moral impressions. The word "Cabal," formed from the initial letters of their names, and applicable enough to the mysteries of the dark policy, if policy it may be called, which they adopted, was given to them by the country as a denomination, and they presently became known by it as well in foreign nations as in their own.

It was about this period that the eyes of all Europe began to be fixed on Louis the fourteenth, whose ambition, and spirit of enterprize, had been already, even in his early youth, sufficiently developed to excite a general alarm. In 1668, on pretences the most futile, he suddenly seized on the Spanish Netherlands. The

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United Provinces, thus at his mercy, as promptly besought the protection of England, and the treaty between those two powers and Sweden, known by the name of "the Triple League," was concluded with a celerity new in diplomatic history. The good will with which Charles seemed to enter into this measure, the general object of which was to curb the growing power of France, was by no means genuine. He secretly longed to establish with Louis, not so much a political alliance, as a private intercourse, and it is more than probable that some opening to that end was already in progress even at the moment that he signed the triple league. The French Monarch, from motives which, though dictated by mere ambition, were far less discreditable, sought the connection with yet greater earnestness. Charles was suffering under extreme personal necessity. Unable perhaps now to divert to his own use any part of the supplies which, in consequence of the late treaty, the Commons had granted with unusual liberality, he is said to have declared to his Cabinet that he would give the office of Lord High Treasurer to any one who could devise the means of relieving him, and Clifford earned the staff, together with a peerage, by suggesting the desperate expedient of shutting up the exchequer. Such aids however were uncertain and transitory, and there was one mode only in which Charles could make a fixed and permanent addition to his personal income. He adopted it; secretly accepted a pension from Louis; and agreed to abandon his allies.

This disgraceful treaty is said to have been concluded with the King's sister, the accomplished Duchess of Orleans, who met him for that purpose at Dover, and remained with him there for a few days in the year 1671; a visit otherwise of some importance to England, inasmuch as the Duchess brought in her train the beautiful Louise de Querouaille, of whom he instantly became extravagantly enamoured; whom he brought with him to London, and soon after created Duchess of Portsmouth; and whose influence over him, extending too frequently to public

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affairs, ended but with his life. In the plan of bribery thus adopted by Louis the members of the Cabal were not forgotten: their friendship was also purchased by exorbitant boons; and Charles and his ministers became in this manner bound to each other by a common interest, to strengthen which he loaded them simultaneously with hereditary and personal dignities. To maintain however the whole of this system of corruption against exterior attacks was to the last degree difficult. Secrecy was necessary to it's very existence, and they dreaded nothing so much as the sturdiness of parliamentary enquiries. Repeated prorogations therefore succeeded. Hence, and from the contemplation of other features of that epoch, too numerous even to be mentioned in this slight abstract, it has been sometimes inferred that Charles then entertained a hope of rendering his Crown absolute; but he was too indolent and unambitious for the prosecution of such an enterprize, and too discerning to have entrusted it to the management of such agents. England, after various injurious efforts to induce the Dutch to strike the first blow, now declared war against them, and France immediately followed her example: the alliance between those two great powers thus burst unexpectedly on the notice of Europe.

While these greater measures were in progress, several unconnected circumstances of no small interest strongly attracted domestic attention. Of these the most remarkable at the time, though the least important, were the desperate attempt made by Colonel Blood to carry off the Regalia from the Tower, and the unaccountable lenity, nay the positive favour, which he presently after experienced from the King. About the same period the Duke of York declared himself a zealous son of the Church of Rome, an avowal the closely impending consequences of which it is almost needless to refer to. It was now too that Charles, taking the advantage of an intermission of Parliament, by which body a similar intention had been formerly frustrated, suspended by proclamation the penal laws against nonconformists of all

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descriptions, a concession for which the presbyterians thanked him with great public parade, while the Catholics, for whose advantage it was solely intended, prudently remained silent. The nation however took the alarm. The never-dying terrors of Popery to which Mary's persecution had given birth agitated the minds of men with redoubled force. The Duke, who really possessed most of those qualities which Englishmen habitually admire, became suddenly unpopular; the King himself was now strongly suspected of that attachment to popery which in fact he secretly entertained; faction, which leads or follows the passions and prejudices of the people as may best suit it's convenience, awoke suddenly from a slumber of several years, and seizing on this disposition, at length produced by a long series of iniquitous efforts the very consequences which it had affected to deprecate.

The bravery and nautical skill displayed by the English and Dutch were incomparable. They were also equal, and therefore, after a series of the most obstinate actions ever fought, it was doubtful on which side lay the balance of advantage or glory. While the two nations were thus distinguishing themselves on their favourite element, Louis entered the United Provinces at the head of a puissant army, and, possessing himself of their most important fortresses almost without resistance, marched to the gates of Amsterdam. The admirable generalship of the young Prince of Orange turned the tide of his successes; and Charles, unable, in spite of the liberality of his new ally, to find the means of carrying on the war, assembled his Parliament, which, instead of furnishing adequate supplies, virtually compelled him to abandon it. Nor was this all. The Commons, jealous of the exertion of Prerogative which had produced the late declaration of indulgence, and yet more of the licence which it had afforded to the Catholics, remonstrated against it with warmth, and at length not only voted it illegal, but set up a new Test, evidently calculated for their particular restraint. The

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King having tampered in vain with the Lords to prevail on them to throw out these bills, at length made a merit of necessity, and with his own hands tore the seal from the declaration. His ministers, the only regular principle of whose conduct had been the circumscription of the limitations of Monarchy, enraged at his vacillations, and not without fear for their own safety, fled from the popular vengeance, against which they found Charles neither able nor willing to protect them. The Cabal was dissolved. Shaftesbury, who held the Great Seal, shamelessly placed himself at the head of the protestant dissenters of all denominations, who, however they might disagree in particulars, were, as they ever will be, united in rancorous opposition to the Crown; Clifford resigned the post of Lord Treasurer, and shortly after died; Arlington was more disgraced by the mode in which he abandoned his compeers than he had been by partaking in their misdeeds; Buckingham, through a variety of treacheries and falsehoods, saved himself with difficulty from impeachment; and Lauderdale withdrew wholly to the superintendence of the affairs of Scotland, which he had indeed for several preceding years with great irregularity and tyranny mis-managed.

The King now, with bitter reluctance, signed a treaty of peace with the States, nor was the convenience of his disgraceful secret connection with his powerful neighbour in any degree impaired by that step. Louis, plunged in wars not less expensive than successful, though unable to furnish the price of Charles's active co-operation, spared with little difficulty the means of purchasing his forbearance; while he, in whose estimation ease was infinitely more valuable than glory, preferred the receipt of small sums which he might apply wholly to his pleasures, to princely subsidies from which he could not occasionally divert portions for his own private use without fear and inconvenience. In the meantime his Parliament, perceiving, without comprehending, his evident leaning towards that country, pressed him, with not less perverseness than policy, to make war on France: when it was

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now assembled therefore it was rather for the sake of experiment on it's humour than for the general dispatch of public business; and, as it became more and more uncompliant, so almost every session was rendered shorter than the preceding, and in one instance the prorogations were repeated for nearly two years together. On the enacting of the new Test, which required all public officers openly to receive the Sacrament, and to renounce transubstantiation, the Duke of York, against whom it was chiefly aimed, had necessarily resigned all his commissions, and since the dispersion of the Cabal, the outcry against Popery had been raised with increased vehemence. The Earl of Danby, who had succeeded Clifford, as Lord Treasurer, became presently little less pliant than any one of the late ministers, and encouraged the perseverance of the King and the Duke, who were as sincerely united in private affection as in their political views; while Shaftesbury, with his new associates, laboured incessantly to undermine the wretched system, the erection of which was ascribable chiefly to himself. The Parliament was at length assembled, and seemed determined to insist on the King's entering into a league with the Empire, Spain, and the States General, against France, as a condition for it's support to any other measures of his government. Charles hesitated, promised, retracted, and delayed, till, having thoroughly excited the jealousy and disgust of all those powers, France, with the lively policy so natural to her, took the advantage, almost literally, of a favourable moment, and suddenly concluded at Nimeguen with the States a separate treaty of peace, the terms of which rendered Louis little less than arbiter of the destinies of Europe.

And now, when it should have seemed that the minds of men of all parties were too full fraught with jealousies and suspicions to receive any addition, burst forth that monstrous mass of iniquity and absurdity so well known by the name of "the Popish Plot, in which the specious fruits of Shaftesbury's invention were in a great measure blighted by the vanity and stupid intempe-

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·rance of the diabolical Oates. To detail the perjured testimony of this man, and its direful effects, would, as it indeed already has, fill volumes, and it is grateful to be spared the recital of such a scene of horror. The mysterious and violent death, just at this period, of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a magistrate who had been active against the Papists, and who had taken Oates's original information, in the over-heated state of men's minds, was readily ascribed to their malice ; and the distinctions and great rewards which Oates had received, tempted a new villain, before unconnected with him, of the name of Bedlow, to fabricate a most circumstantial narrative of Godfrey's murder, by the Queen's servants, in her Palace, and with her knowledge, which done, he set himself to invent fresh matter to corroborate the weaker parts of Oates's story. Dugdale, another adventurer of the same complection, the man through whose false evidence the Lord Stafford two years after perished on the scaffold, now joined this pandæmonium, and the lives of ten innocent persons were presently sacrificed to their perjuries.

In the midst of this ferment the Parliament met, apparently giving full credence to all that had been declared of the conspiracy, and enacted a test yet more directly than the last levelled at the Catholics, from which the Duke of York, with great difficulty, obtained a special exemption. The Commons, in an address to the King, in which however the Lords refused to join, hinted broadly at the Queen's alledged concern in the plot against his life, for Oates had openly accused her as a party. But they went further. Their fury daily increased, and they seemed resolved even to follow the steps of their notorious predecessor the long Parliament: a bill passed both Houses to regulate the arming and personal service of the militia, and the Commons voted the disbanding of some newly-raised troops, and insulted the King by inserting a clause in their bill for that purpose, directing that the money which they had appropriated to the payment of those soldiers should be paid into the chamber of

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London, instead of into the exchequer; and, finally, on weak, or rather no, grounds, impeached Danby of high treason. Charles now assumed a dignified firmness. He negatived the militia bill, being his first exercise of that prerogative since his accession, declaring at the same time that he never would, "even for half an hour," submit to compromise any degree of his constitutional military authority; he ordered that Oates should be placed in strict confinement; and vindicated the innocence of the Queen with unexpected warmth and feeling. "She is a weak woman," said he to Bishop Burnet, "and has some disagreeable humours, but is not capable of a wicked thing; and, considering my faultiness towards her in other things, I think it would be horrid in me to abandon her." He consummated these efforts of unusual resolution by dissolving the Parliament, which had now existed for nineteen years.

It was absolutely necessary however for him to call another with little delay. During the interval he pardoned Danby, and, finding in the general election sad indications of the temper he was to expect in his new Parliament, determined, in a forlorn hope of conciliation, to request his brother to quit the realm. James, with a magnanimity of which we find frequent instances in his conduct, instantly complied, but he proposed a single condition, which the King as readily allowed. A new actor had of late occasionally appeared on the political scene, the only one of Charles's several natural sons who had reached manhood, and whom he had created Duke of Monmouth, and tenderly loved. Monmouth, weak, brave, generous, and engaging, had, without seeking, obtained extensive popularity, and Shaftesbury, sensible of the value of such an acquisition, had with little difficulty gained him over to his faction by persuading him that proofs existed of the secret marriage before his birth of Charles to his mother. The Duke of York now required of the King an explicit, and, so far as might be consistent with his dignity, a public denial of that fact, and, Charles having made on his oath, and

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recorded in a full Privy Council a clear declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, James retired with dignified resignation to Brussels. The King made yet a further concession. He appointed a new administration, mostly of persons who stood well with the popular party, and dismissed the whole of Danby's friends from the Council, the office of President of which was given to Shaftesbury. The Parliament however met in exceeding ill humour, which it evinced even on the threshold by questioning the royal right of interference in the choice of a Speaker. It renewed the prosecution of Danby, in spite of the King's pardon; declared again and again, in various forms, it's firm belief that the Papists had combined to take away the life of the King, to place his brother on the throne, and to extirpate the protestant profession; voted new rewards to the perjured witnesses; and proceeded to the furious measure of a bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, which passed the Commons by a considerable majority. It's fate even in the House of Lords was doubtful; but at this critical moment a dispute arose between the two Houses on the question whether the Bishops should be allowed to vote on the impending trial of Lord Danby, and the King, as was usual on such occasions of disagreement, prorogued the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it.

During these great heats the persecution, for so it might be now fairly called, of the Romanists proceeded with vigour, and Oates, who, to satisfy the Parliament, had been liberated, became again active, as well as his associates, though he and they had lost all credit in the opinions of reasonable and honest persons of both parties. To compleat the disorder of the time, a tumultuary puritanical rebellion broke out in Scotland, where the tyranny of Lauderdale had rendered his administration intolerable. Charles, to gratify at once his favourite son and to flatter the faction with which he had unfortunately connected himself, gave Monmouth the command of the troops which were dispatched to suppress it. The folly and cowardice of the insurgents rendered

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him victorious almost without effort, and his conduct towards them after the only action which occurred raised a suspicion that he entertained no unkind opinion of the motives which they professed had excited them to rise. He was therefore coolly received on his return, and the Duke of York, whom the King, on being suddenly seized with alarming illness, had privately sent for immediately after, prevailed with his brother to deprive him of his military appointments and to send him also out of the country. James again went for a short time to Brussels, when it was determined that he should be permitted to reside in Scotland, and Monmouth took this opportunity to solicit the King's leave to come home, which being refused, he returned, as in defiance, and thenceforward plunged with a sort of desperation into all the guilty measures of those who had advised him to that act of filial disobedience. Great outcries were now raised for a Parliament. St. James's was besieged with petitions to that effect, and counter petitions, in which strife however the latter had the advantage. The City chose two republican sectaries for sheriffs, by an unprecedented mode of election, which it was believed was adopted that convenient juries might be secured to try the Catholics. Some of the King's chief ministers resigned. Shaftesbury, whom Charles had dismissed some time before from the office of President of the Council, and whose seditious practices had never abated while he held it, presented the Duke of York as a Popish recusant to the grand jury of Middlesex in Westminster Hall, at the head of several noblemen and commoners of his faction.

At length the King again called a Parliament. It has been suggested, and with much plausibility, that he took this step at such a moment with no other view than to produce to the impartial and disinterested of his subjects a full exhibition of the mad unreasonableness of the Commons, and the wickedness of the faction by which the majority was led. If this were really his motive he was not disappointed. They entered on their functions with a rage almost unparalleled by any former assembly of dema-

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gogues, and, not only in their debates but by their votes, trampled under foot in many circumstances all respect to the law, and to what is called the constitution, as well as to the Crown. A mere enumeration of these instances of their fanaticism at this period would double the extent of this already too protracted sketch of an inglorious and unfortunate reign. Amidst these extravagances however they found room for a repetition of their favourite measure, a bill for the exclusion of the Duke, which was moved for within a week after their meeting, and triumphantly carried, but thrown out by a large majority in the House of Lords. An effort was made to appease the fury of the Commons on this disappointment by the immolation of a new victim. It was resolved to bring to immediate trial certain Catholic Peers who had been imprisoned in the Tower ever since Oates made his first declaration of the plot, and William Howard Viscount Stafford, an aged and retired nobleman, was accordingly sacrificed to the prejudices of the time, and the perjuries of the original gang of witnesses. The violence however of the House of Commons daily increased; another rebellion seemed at hand; and the King suddenly dissolved this Parliament, apparently but to gain a little leisure for deliberation under circumstances so critical, since he immediately issued writs for the election of another. Such was the apprehension of some great explosion, as well as of the disposition of the Londoners, that it was summoned to meet at Oxford.

Charles opened the new Parliament with a speech from the mixture of moderation and sternness in which it was evident that he had at length firmly resolved on the line of conduct which he meant in future to pursue, but the nature of that determination, owing to an intermediate accident, has remained unknown. Few days had passed, in which the Commons had distinguished themselves even by an increased fierceness and virulence, when they thought fit to take up the case of a wretch of the name of Fitzharris, who had been recently apprehended for a libel on the King

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and his family. This man had applied himself in his prison to the invention of a new plot, which, among a variety of circumstances, involved a design to murder the King, and he declared that the Duke of York was privy to the whole. The news held out a temptation which the faction could not resist. They resolved to take him out of the ordinary course of prosecution for the libel, and to make him their own instrument. They instantly carried up an impeachment against him to the Lords, who refused, on a plea of precedent, to receive it, on which they voted that the Peers had denied them justice, and that all those who concurred in trying the prisoner by any inferior tribunal were betrayers of the liberties of their country. Charles, availing himself once more of a quarrel between the two Houses to do that which at all events he meditated, went down to the Peers suddenly, and with such secrecy that he caused himself to be carried in a sedan chair, with the Crown between his feet, and dissolved the Parliament, the last that was held in his reign. The effect of this bold and wholly unexpected step, to which he had doubtless been encouraged by correct reports of the sense of the country at large, had the air of magical illusion. The faction seemed to be in a moment completely annihilated. Charles was overwhelmed with congratulations and thanks from every part of the nation; the Duke was courted with even more respect than himself; the reality of the plot became generally disbelieved; Churchmen and Papists mixed cordially in society; and sectaries of all classes became the objects of insult and ridicule.

Among the very few positive virtues possessed by Charles, not a spark of magnanimity was to be found. That in this strange and sudden return of power and popularity he should have suffered the guilty persons under whose persecution he had been so long suffering to escape with perfect impunity was too much to be expected from frail humanity, and perhaps inconsistent with the dictates of common sense; but that he should have employed the very men to convict them to whose perjuries so many of the

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opposite party had fallen innocent victims, is highly disgraceful to his memory. Those wretches now turned on their late patrons ; offered themselves to the Crown to become witnesses against them ; and were accepted. After the conviction and execution of an inferior but noted firebrand, one Colledge, they accused Shaftesbury, who, according to the usual lot of leaders, escaped, a partial jury returning *ignoramus* on his indictment. Charles took otherwise the most unreasonable advantages of this season of favour. The seditious had made the City their strong hold and forlorn hope. After a violent contest with the authorities there, they had repeated their experiment of an irregular election of Sheriffs, and failed. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was now issued ; the City was declared to have forfeited it's charter ; and, on the humble suit of the corporation, it was restored, with alterations which in fact placed the controul of the whole civic power in the hands of the Crown. Such however was the temper of the time, and such the dread which the nation had conceived of the enormities of the whigs, for so the political disturbers of the peace of society began about this time to be called, that all the corporations in the kingdom, either voluntarily, or on very slight persuasion, immediately surrendered their charters, to be re-modelled also as the King might be pleased to direct. While these remarkable occurrences were passing at home, James was busily employed in Scotland in courting the good opinion of the nobility, and in attempting to subdue the obstinacy of the presbyterian covenanters with a severity which served but to render it unconquerable.

And now was suddenly unfolded a genuine plot, minute in it's arrangements, fearfully comprehensive in it's views, and headed by some of the highest rank in the nation. It had been conceived, and partly planned, by that indefatigable organ of mischief Shaftesbury, who, finding himself unable to persuade some of his confederates to bring it into action so early as he intended, had prudently abandoned it in time, and retired to Amsterdam,

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where he soon after died. It embraced a civil war ; the assassination of the King ; and the subversion of the form of government, though the conspirators had bestowed no deliberation on any plan for a new system. This flagitious plot is matter of history so notorious that it would be impertinent to crowd any of it's details into this outline. Suffice it therefore to say, for the information of the few who may have witnessed the eulogies rapturously poured on the memories of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, unconscious of the merits on which they were founded, that those merits consisted solely in the simple fact of their having unhappily lent themselves to become the prime actors in the scene of bloodshed and confusion which was meditated. These, with several of the inferior conspirators, were put to death. The Duke of Monmouth, who had parricidally engaged with them, escaped, probably by the King's connivance.

The short remnant of this Prince's life presents no incidents sufficiently important to be noticed in an abstract so superficial as this. A very few efforts, planned with caution and sagacity, and executed with vigour and decision, might now have rendered his Crown nearly absolute, an object at which it has been very erroneously supposed that he aimed. In those acts of his reign to which such a tendency may be ascribed he seems in fact to have sought only for intervals of personal ease, without reflecting on past events, or calculating on probable consequences. The disuse of Parliaments, and the signal discomfiture of a most virulent faction, had procured it for him, and he sat down satisfied with those social pleasures which no man more keenly enjoyed, and to which no man could more ably contribute, than himself. A slave to appetites, but almost a stranger to passions, his public life sunk into torpor when unopposed.

King Charles the second died of apoplexy on the sixth of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

OF his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk), by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty, in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance; a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified; and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the force then led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron

in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the order of the Garter. Several writers who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester ; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the Queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the arduous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. " She had," says Camden, " a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless : Walsingham therefore, to spare expence, dispatched an express to recal four of the largest ships, which the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the

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enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the high offices which he held, had acquired the precedency; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him the office of Earl Marshal: Nottingham, in his turn, now became

disgusted ; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume ; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension. Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the space of a fortnight ; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with this generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence : Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower ; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend ; and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring from the Queen first a reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberration

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tions of temper which preceded her dissolution Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward; placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his Embassy was unusually splendid: he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen, and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expences; and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns; yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate; his expenditure had been always enormous; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed

CHARLES HOWARD,

his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties ; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease, and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year) easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the convoying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds ; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred ; and by a patent of precedence, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the second to his ancestors the Mowbrays ; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery ; he ever after called the Earl “ father,” and bent the knee on coming into his presence ; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house of Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married ; first to Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons ; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John

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Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates; and three daughters; Elizabeth, wife first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.

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THE character of this eminent Statesman was drawn about sixty years after his death by a writer who sometimes sacrificed the sacred veracity of biography to his love of that forcible and terse method of expression in which he excelled, and whom therefore I never quote, unless his assertions can be supported by the genuine evidence of history. "His education," says Lloyd, "was better than his birth, his knowledge higher than his education, his parts above his knowledge, and his experience beyond his parts. A general learning furnished him for travel, and travel seasoned him for employment. His masterpiece was an inward observation of other men, and an exact knowledge of himself. His address was with state, yet insinuating; his discourse free, but weighed; his apprehension quick, but stayed; his ready and present mind keeping its pauses of thoughts and expressions even with the occasion and the emergency; neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant than his soul." The eulogist might have added, without hazard of contradiction, that a more faithful and honest minister never existed.

He owed nothing to the influence either of ancestry or wealth, but sprang from a very private family in Staffordshire, from whence his father, a native of Wednesbury, in that county, migrated to London, and obtained there the office of Serjeant at Mace in the corporation. William, his eldest son, the subject of this memoir, was born in that city in 1506, and commenced his education in St. Paul's school, under the celebrated Lilly, from whence he was removed to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. At this early period of his life, the foundation of his future eminence was laid. By some means, long since forgotten, he became known

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to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, perhaps not only the first scholar, as well as the most acute statesman of his time, but a zealous cultivator also of those more elegant branches of literature which were then little professed in England. He was received into the family of that prelate, and, after a time, sent under his auspices to complete his education in the University of Paris, from whence he returned again into the Bishop's house. Bred under the wing of Gardiner, it is not strange that he should have contracted a strong attachment to the ancient faith of his country. He practised it, under all the extraordinary varieties of its fortune which distinguished his time, with inflexible constancy, but with a mildness and moderation towards its opponents which marked the goodness of his heart.

In 1530, then but at the age of twenty-four, the King, doubtless through the recommendation of Gardiner, sent him into France, to collect the opinions of the most learned and experienced jurists of that kingdom on the great question of the proposed divorce, and rewarded him on his return with the appointment of a Clerk of the Signet, which was afterwards confirmed to him for his life. He seems to have been no otherwise employed till 1537, when he was dispatched, with great privacy, into Germany, to foment the discord which then subsisted between the Emperor and the Protestant Princes, and to endeavour to persuade them to refer their differences to the mediation of Henry, and the King of France. In 1541 the offices of Clerk of the Privy Council, and Clerk of the Signet, were conferred on him, as was soon after that of Clerk of the Parliament for life; in the following year he was sent ambassador into France; and in 1543, in which year he was knighted, was appointed one of the two principal Secretaries of State. His distinguished skill, however, in foreign diplomacy confined him chiefly to that line of public service during the remainder of Henry's reign. In the summer of 1545 he negotiated, in concert with the Chancellor Wriothesley, and the Duke of Suffolk, the

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terms of the marriage of the Princess Margaret to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, and many other important matters relative to Scotland, and was soon after joined in commission with the Earl of Hertford to manage that treaty with France which, for the time, was rendered fruitless by the French King's positive demand of the restitution of Boulogne. In the succeeding June, however, the peace was concluded, chiefly under his direction. Henry, who survived that important act but for a few months, appointed Sir William Paget an executor to his Will, and one of the council to his minor successor.

The strict intimacy and confidence in which he had long lived with the Earl of Hertford, uncle to the young King, and now Protector of him, and of the realm, opened to him a new channel of favour. He was chosen a Knight of the Garter on Edward's accession, and soon after resigned his office of Secretary of State, and was appointed Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: a singular exchange, which we may probably ascribe to the inconvenient interruptions to the duties of a Secretary of State which must have arisen from his frequent nomination to foreign missions. He was in fact dispatched within very few months to the Emperor, in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, to persuade that Prince to join in an alliance against France, and, though the negotiation wholly failed, left that court with a splendor of general reputation which perhaps no other foreign minister in any time has enjoyed. Of this we have abundant proof in the letters of Sir Philip Hoby, then Resident Ambassador there, extracts from which may be found in *Stripe's Memorials*; and Lloyd, the writer lately quoted, tells us that Charles "once cried, in a rapture, that he deserved to be a King, as well as to represent one;" and, one day, as he came to court, "yonder is the man I can deny nothing to." A short extract from one of his letters to the Protector during his embassy, which is preserved in the Harleian MSS. while it lets us somewhat into the character of his mind, seems to

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prove that he could not have purchased much of his favour at the Court of Brussels by flattery. After having recited much at large some former conferences with the Emperor's ministers, he says—

“ ——— The day following d'Arras, accompanied w^t Mons^r St. Maurice, came to my lodging, and, albeit I was the day before somewhat moved, yet, hoping thei had brought some resolution, I quieted myself; and after salutac^ons, and wordes of office, I beganne to give ear what thei wolde say; when sodainly d'Arras, after a great circumstance, and many goodly painted wordes, entred th' excuse of my longe abode here w^tout answere to my charge, w^{ch} he affirmed was occasioned by th' Emp^{or}'s busines abowte the Prince's swearing in thies townes; and praied us therefore on his Ma.^{ties} behalf, to take pacience untill his coming to Brusselles, when, without faile, he said I sholde be dispatched. W^{ch} when I hearde, and p^{ce}ving, in steade of the resoluc^on and answer that I looked for, to be only fed w^t faire wordes, I must confesse unto yo^r Grace I colde not keepe pacience, but, being entred somewhat into coler, answered him that I was now here at th' Emp^{or}'s will and com^{and}me^t: He might stay me as long as it liked him, and dispatche me when he liste: But, q^d I, were I once at home, I knowe that neither the King's Ma^{tie} wold sende me hither, nor I, for my part, to wyne an hundreth thousande crownes, come againe abowte eine' like matter, considering how coldly the same hitherto proceeded; and suerly I am sorie that either ye sholde judge me so voide of wit that I colde not perceive wherunto this childishe excuse tendeth, or occasion me to suppose you so much w^tout considerac^on as to thinke I colde be brought to beleave that the Prince's swearing colde be eine' delay to the answering of thies things that I am come hither for; a matter easie inogh to be perceaved of such as never had einé experience of the worlde, etc. Hereunto d'Arras very coldly answered that, in good faythe, the cause of my staye, whatsoever I thought, was onely such as he had shewed me, and therefore

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praised me not to conceive any other opinion ; for I assure you, q^d he, the Emp^{or} beareth the King, his good brother, asmuche affec[~]eon as if he were his sonn, and wolde gladly ayde and assiste him in all things to the uttermost that he maye conveniently : But, q^d he, thies matters are weightie, and require to be answered unto w^t deliberac[~]on. Yf thei seemed as weightie unto you as ye speake, q^d I, I cannot judge but ye wolde er this time have spied out some time to answere unto them ; and, as for th^e Emp^{or}'s assistance, my M^r requyrethe it not einé other waies then shall appere to be requisite and beneficiall for both parties ; and therefore, if the occasion of this long dely be uppon einé other considerac[~]on then ye have yet declared unto us, I wolde wishe ye delte like frendes, and opened the same frankly : and I knowe, q^d I, that thies matters were concluded before Mons^r G.'s departure, w^{ch} maketh me more to muse why ye sholde so longe stay from making reaport of yo^r answere," &c.

On his return from Brussels he was called by writ to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Paget, of Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, and was immediately after appointed a commissioner to treat for the accommodation of new differences which had arisen between England and France. But the feud between the Protector and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, which had long divided Edward's court and council, had now risen to its height, and the former sunk under the boldness and the artifices of his mighty adversary. Lord Paget necessarily, for such was the custom of the time, shared in the misfortune of his friend. He was committed to the Fleet Prison on the twenty-first of October, 1551, and some weeks after, removed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner, without a cause assigned, for five months, at the end of which he was divested of the Order of the Garter, on the ground of insufficiency of blood ; charged with corruption and embezzlement in his office of the Duchy ; and sentenced in the star-chamber to a fine of six thousand pounds. These severities had no other object than to terrify the small remnant of the

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Protector's party into obedience till the power of the Duke of Northumberland should be firmly settled ; for in December, 1552, Lord Paget obtained a general pardon, with the exception only of debts to the King, which was inserted but to save appearances, for it should seem that the fine with which he had been most unjustly charged was almost wholly remitted. It remained, however, to Mary to restore to him the Garter, which was done with great ceremony, at a chapter of the order held at St. James's, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1553, six weeks after she mounted the throne, when it appears to have been for the first time admitted, certainly to the honour of the order, that no objection on the score of birth ought to be allowed to supersede the claims of transcendent personal merit.

Mary, indeed, could not but have been prompted to favour him, equally by her interests and her prejudices. He had appeared among the first to assert her disputed title to the throne, and had hastened to her presence to give her the earliest notice of her having been proclaimed Queen in London. He had been persecuted by her bitterest enemies, and was distinguished by the most steadfast adherence to that faith the maintenance of which was unhappily the first object of her life. She received him into her utmost confidence. He was appointed to manage the treaty of her marriage with Philip of Spain ; was sent Ambassador, immediately after, to the Emperor, his father, to agitate certain points tending to the re-establishment of the Papal authority in England ; and, soon after his return, was appointed Lord Privy Seal. Though a warm advocate for the Spanish match, which indeed had been chiefly planned by himself and his old friend Gardiner, he entertained a becoming jealousy of Philip, and expressed it, when necessary, with a bold and honourable frankness. That Prince, who undoubtedly meditated by marrying Mary to make himself master of England, had applied to the Parliament, when she was supposed to be pregnant, for an act to constitute him Regent till the child should be of age to

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govern ; and proposed to give security for his surrender of the Regency when that period might arrive. The motion, which had been largely debated in the House of Peers, was likely to be carried, when Lord Paget suddenly rose, and said, " Pray who shall sue the King's bond ?" These few words changed the temper of the House, and it was negatived.

On the accession of Elizabeth he withdrew himself voluntarily from the public service. That Princess, says Camden, " entertained an affection and value for him, though he was a strict zealot of the Romish Church." After six years of retirement, he died on the ninth of June, 1563, and was buried, according to the direction of his will, at Drayton, in Middlesex. Fuller, who is frequently incorrect, informs us that he was very aged, but the inscription on a superb monument erected to his memory in Litchfield Cathedral, which was destroyed in the general wreck of the interior of that church in the grand rebellion, states, according to a copy preserved in the family of Hatton, that he died in his fifty-eighth year.

Lord Paget married Anne, daughter and heir of Henry Preston, a descendant of the house of Preston, of Preston, in Yorkshire, by whom he had four sons, and six daughters. Henry, the eldest, died without issue, having only for five years enjoyed his father's dignity and estates, which then fell to Thomas, the second son, lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Uxbridge. That nobleman, together with his next brother, Charles, was deeply engaged in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was attainted in 1587, and restored by James, immediately on his accession. Edward, the fourth son, died young. For the daughters, Etheldreda was married to Sir Christopher Allen ; Joan, to Sir Thomas Kitson ; Anne, to Sir Henry Lee ; Eleanor, first to Jerome Palmer ; secondly, to Sir Rowland Clerk ; Dorothy, to Thomas, a son of Sir Henry Willoughby, of Wollaton, in Nottinghamshire ; and Grizel, first to Sir Thomas Rivet, and then to Sir William Waldegrave.